

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 1948

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO THE SCIENTIFIC AND
PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS OF SOCIAL WORK

Edited by

THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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The *Social Service Review* is published quarterly by the University of Chicago at the University Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill. The subscription price is \$6.00 per year; the price of single copies is \$1.75. Orders for service of less than a full year will be charged at the single-copy rate. Postage is prepaid by the publishers on all orders from the United States and its possessions, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Republic of Honduras, Mexico, Morocco (Spanish Zone), Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Rio de Oro, El Salvador, Spain (including Balearic Islands, Canary Islands, and the Spanish Offices in northern Africa; Andorra), Spanish Guinea, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Postage is charged extra as follows: for Canada and Newfoundland, 20 cents on annual subscriptions (total \$6.20), on single copies, 5 cents (total \$1.80); for all other countries in the Postal Union, 48 cents on annual subscriptions (total \$6.48), on single copies, 12 cents (total \$1.87). Patrons are requested to make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in United States currency or its equivalent by postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

The following is an authorized agent:

For the British Empire, except North America and Australasia: Cambridge University Press, Bentley House, 200 Euston Road, London, N.W. 1, England. Prices of yearly subscriptions and of single copies may be had on application.

Claims for missing numbers should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit.

Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 37, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor of THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW, The University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Ill.

The articles in this journal are indexed in the *International Index to Periodicals*, New York, New York.

Applications for permission to quote from this journal should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, and will be freely granted.

Entered as second-class matter March 17, 1927, at the post-office at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in United States Postal Act of October 3, 1917, Section 1103, amended February 28, 1925, authorized March 28, 1927.

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IN U.S.A.]

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Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge

1866-1948

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW was already in press at the time of the death of our senior editor and founder. Therefore, an account of her life and her inspiring, constructive, and valiant leadership over a period of more than forty years must wait for the December issue.

She began her work at the University of Chicago in political science, economics, and law; but she joined in 1906 with Julia Lathrop and Graham Taylor in building a school for education in the field that they called "civics and philanthropy." At that time she left her former studies and brought the old disciplines of the finest scholarship to the service of a new profession; and, in spite of many difficulties, she had the "high faith" that never failed as she enlisted in one humanitarian movement after another. It was as if she had heard the message of the Quaker poet of long ago:

*" . . . Forego thy dreams of lettered ease,
Put thou the scholar's province by,
The rights of man are more than these."
She heard and answered "Here am I."*

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Volume XXII

SEPTEMBER 1948

Number 3

INTERNATIONAL HORIZONS FOR HEALTH AND WELFARE^{*}

GEORGE F. DAVIDSON, PH.D.

IN THINKING over what can usefully be said on the subject "International Horizons for Health and Welfare," one cannot ignore the almost universal preoccupation with the much larger international issues which face the world today. These are insecure and troublous times in which we live. Not only social workers but men and women everywhere are deeply concerned with the problem of security in all its many aspects. We social workers in our professional field think of the problem as one of social security. But let us not forget that twice within our lifetime, twice within a generation, mankind has fought a bloody war—for what?—to establish peace and security in its way of life, in all its many aspects.

Our lives as individuals, as communities, and as nations are in fact bound up increasingly with this struggle for security: security of our national existence, security from the threats of those hostile forces outside our boundaries who would

do harm to us and to our ways of life. What is it that we have been seeking to achieve through two world wars except security for the nation, security for the people of the nation, security from outside aggression? And at the same time, what is it that we seek through our departments of health and welfare, through our federal security agencies, through our entire network of federal, state, and local organizations, if it is not, once again, security for the nation, security for the people of the nation, against certain hazards, certain risks and threats—coming this time, perhaps, from within the nation—over which the individual has no control?

These social and economic dangers from within are perhaps not so startlingly obvious as the threat of danger that comes from outside a nation's boundaries. Yet, who is there to say that, for the average individual or for his family, bullets are more of a menace than microbes; or that the hazards of social and economic security may not prove to be even more destructive in their insidious way to the fabric of our family and our national life than the threat to our national security through aggression from outside our borders?

These questions, of course, can have

^{*} This paper was delivered at the symposium on "Professional Social Work: Its Substance and World Significance," the last of three symposiums on "The Family in Tomorrow's World" held during the spring of 1948 in observance of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the New York School of Social Work and the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Community Service Society of New York. The Society plans to publish the Anniversary papers in book form in the near future.

no final answer. What emerges clearly is that the problem of achieving security for a nation is in reality a many-sided one. It is social, economic, political, and military, all at the same time. We fight this battle for security on many fronts; and we, as health and welfare workers, do well to remember that each one of us has an important part to play in securing for the common people of our nations that kind of society in which we all want to live—a peaceful and truly democratic society that offers security to all without restricting freedom or weakening initiative or opportunity.

This quest for security—social, economic, political, and military—is not merely a matter of national concern today in our respective countries. In addition to being a major, if not the major, objective of many governments today in terms of their domestic and internal policies, this quest for security—social, economic, political, and military—is our major preoccupation in the international field as well. We have traditionally recognized the importance of the purely political and military factors in the international field. These have for centuries been the governing factors in the shaping of international relationships and alignments. Not until very recently have we begun to realize that, in addition to political and military considerations, social and economic factors likewise play a large part in predisposing the peoples of the world to peaceful and co-operative ways of life—or, failing that, to friction, violence, and unrest, which oftentimes burst out beyond control and lead to open war.

This recognition of the importance of social and economic factors in the international field has certainly come about within the last hundred years—within the lifetime of the Community Service

Society of New York and its parent organizations. It was the industrial revolution, which, in fact, first set fully in motion those forces that led to countries bursting forth from their bonds of economic self-containment into a new world, a new order of society characterized by the economic interdependence of states, rather than as formerly by their economic independence. From national economic self-sufficiency we have moved through an intermediate stage of economic imperialism into what may today be regarded as an era of economic internationalism.

Coinciding with these developments in the economic field were other changes stemming likewise from the industrial revolution—namely, the development of organized community health and welfare measures. It is not, of course, a mere accident that the development of these organized health and welfare activities, first of all by private agencies and later by governments, has coincided with the progress of the industrial revolution. Organized health and welfare activities began in the cities and towns. These cities and towns themselves were created by the very need of the new industrial techniques and processes for large concentrations of manpower at strategic points throughout the country. It was this haphazard, ill-planned concentration of masses of the population in cities and towns for the first time to meet the manpower needs of the new industrial era that led in large part to the emergence of health and welfare needs, then to the recognition of these needs, and finally to the provision of health and welfare services to meet these needs wherever they might arise throughout the whole community.

The history of the development of health and welfare measures during this

past century is also a story of the transfer of responsibility from private to public agencies—and in the public agency field, from the lower to the higher levels of government. One of the most consistent trends in the evolution of our concepts of responsibility for the development of health and welfare services is this trend toward lifting financial and administrative responsibilities for health and welfare measures increasingly from the shoulders of private agencies and the smaller units of government and toward placing more of these responsibilities on the higher units of government. So forceful indeed is this trend, and so consistently clear-cut in its direction, that I like to think of it as “the upward thrust” of responsibility from the lower grass roots to the higher units of government in your country and mine.

This is a common characteristic of all states which today are in the process of developing a modern program of health and welfare services. It does not seem to matter whether it be a federal state like the United States or like Canada, or whether it be a unitary state like the United Kingdom or New Zealand, the trend is still the same. Likewise, it does not seem to matter whether the form of government be democratic or totalitarian, capitalist, socialist, or even communist—the same trend is still there, the only difference being the speed with which it may be able or may be encouraged to develop.

This “upward thrust” of responsibility in the health and welfare field has led us already through a variety of phases. First of all, we concentrated this responsibility in the hands of private, religious, or philanthropic groups, through which developed our network of organized voluntary community welfare services. Then,

increasingly, we shifted the burden to the local authorities of our cities, towns, and municipalities. From there, the “upward thrust” continued to our provincial or our state levels of government as health and welfare needs became increasingly greater and the resources of our local authorities less and less adequate to meet them. Finally, the last two decades have seen in Canada and in the United States the remorseless, seemingly inevitable continuation of this “upward thrust” from the state to the federal level.

Who can look back a quarter of a century or so in history of the development of our country's health and welfare services (whether it be Canada or the United States) and fail to be impressed by the extent to which, first, the states and, latterly, within the memory of all of us, the federal governments have taken over increasingly the financial and the administrative responsibilities for insuring adequate health and welfare measures to the people of our respective nations? In the light of these developments, is it surprising that we should now be witnessing a further projection of this “upward thrust” into the international field?

For my own part, I regard our current interest in international social welfare and health programs as being but a logical and inevitable development of the policies which have evolved in our respective countries during these last few decades. We can now at last, I think, begin to perceive the first dim outline of an international health and welfare policy which, if wisely developed, will serve as the culminating point of this “upward thrust” of responsibility; and which will supplement and strengthen our respective national programs in the same way that our national programs themselves add to and strengthen the effectiveness

of undertakings carried through on provincial, state, or local levels.

I would not, of course, suggest for a moment that the signs pointing in the direction of an awakened interest in the field of international health and welfare policy are all of recent origin. That would be far from the truth. Both on the voluntary and on the governmental levels, we have had for some time examples of planning and organization of programs beyond national boundaries. The international ramifications of programs such as those of the Y.M.C.A. or the Salvation Army are too well known to require elaboration. The work of the International Red Cross is again a case in point. A few scattered examples such as these may be found before the first World War. I think, however, that it would be fair to say that the first real landmarks of organized governmental concern for health and welfare policies on the international level are to be found in the developments immediately resulting from the first World War. The establishment of the International Labor Organization and the creation of the League of Nations, with its Health Section and its Advisory Committee on Social Questions, were all steps of profound significance. They heralded for almost the first time the partnership of governments in the development of means by which international collaboration could be made effective in the health and welfare field.

At long last, with the machinery for collaboration now firmly established on both the voluntary and the intergovernmental levels, it began to be apparent that the importance of economic and social factors in the promotion of peace and security throughout the world and in the prevention of war was now gaining ever increasing recognition. This was and is the temper of the times; and the de-

velopments which have taken place since the end of World War I have only served to demonstrate with increasing clarity the growing importance of social and economic questions in both our national and our international communities.

The achievements of the International Labor Organization and of the Health Section of the League of Nations during the interwar years provide some of the brighter spots in what is otherwise a sorry and discouraging tale of frustration in our efforts to achieve genuine international collaboration. Through mechanisms such as these, facilities were established which have made possible the fruitful exchange of information and the establishment of standards between nations with respect to health and welfare matters. The League of Nations despite its many failures has left a legacy for which we may yet be grateful in the machinery it established through its Health Section and through its Advisory Committee on Social Questions for exchanging information on health and welfare matters. The International Labor Organization established, through its Conventions and its recommendations, standards in a host of fields which are now regarded as minimum civilized standards throughout the world. Fortunately, too, the International Labor Organization survived the downfall of the League of Nations and continues its work today, tested and tried over more than a quarter of a century, recognized as a seasoned, experienced, and authoritative body in the field of international social policy. There can be no doubt that the practical results of the work of these bodies I have mentioned during the years between the wars have made an immense advance for all humanity.

One other indication of the development of our international awareness in

the health and welfare field was the establishment in 1928 of the International Conference of Social Work. This Conference met first in Paris in 1928, then in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1932, and again in London in 1936. It has, as you all know, just concluded its Fourth Session this month in Atlantic City and New York—a session made significant by the fact that it was the first to be held since the interruption of World War II and likewise the first ever to be held outside of Europe. These international conferences provide another channel of communication between the health and welfare workers of the various countries of the world—a channel which is useful in familiarizing representatives of many nations with the measures and procedures in force or under consideration in other countries than their own.

In the field of health, the work of the international organizations I have mentioned was more than matched by the freest possible interchange of information and of personnel. The interest shown by each nation in what was going on in other nations was greater in the field of health and welfare than in any other field except that of war.

I come now to the final stage of our development to date—the very significant progress that has been made since the end of World War II. This progress centers, of course, around the United Nations, which, in the various clauses of its charter as well as in its organization, planning, and structure, has underscored as never before the vital importance of international collaboration in the health and welfare field. It must be heartening indeed for health and welfare leaders everywhere to realize that recognition is at last being given to their fields of effort. The Charter of the United Nations, written and subscribed to by the govern-

ments of most of the countries of the civilized world, proclaimed, in the creation of the Economic and Social Council side-by-side with the Security Council, the conviction in the hearts of many thousands, even millions, of people that international collaboration in economic and social fields can achieve as much or more than political or military activity in removing those points of friction which ultimately lead to war.

Let us see now what has been accomplished in the three years that have intervened since the drafting of the United Nations Charter in San Francisco in May, 1945:

1. The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations has come into being and has already held six sessions during the two-and-a-half years of its existence. It stands recognized today as being potentially the most important agency yet established to deal with matters in the field of international social and economic policy. While the hopes of those who created it are still far from being fulfilled, it stands today as an agency with a vast potential for constructive, creative effort in its particular field.

2. The World Health Organization has been brought into being; and, after a waiting period of almost two years, it is now ready to pass from the Interim Commission stage to its full stature as the recognized intergovernmental organization in the health field. The establishment of a World Health Organization to carry on where the Health Section of the League of Nations had left off had emerged from the San Francisco Conference as one of the matters which the nations there regarded as being of the highest and most urgent priority. No less than sixty-three nations of the world (more than the membership of the Unit-

ed Nations itself) attended the World Health Conference in June, 1946, where the Constitution of the World Health Organization was drafted.

The World Health Organization is unique for one particular reason. It happens to be the only one of the newer specialized agencies, created under United Nations auspices, which the U.S.S.R. has yet decided to join.

I note, incidentally, that Dr. Brock Chisholm, director-general of the World Health Organization and formerly my colleague in the Ministry of National Health and Welfare for Canada, is also to speak on this program. The presence of two Canadians, one of them now an international civil servant, on your anniversary program here today surely testifies to the increasingly international character of our thinking and of our interest in the health and social welfare fields.

3. The Social Commission of the United Nations has likewise been established by the Economic and Social Council to act in a technical advisory capacity on all matters relating to international social policy. The Social Commission is, of course, a subordinate organ of the United Nations itself, not an autonomous, inter-governmental agency like the World Health Organization. Likewise, it is not in any sense an operating agency, but its position in the field of international social welfare policy corresponds roughly at least to the position which will be occupied by the World Health Organization in the field of international health policy.

4. Other United Nations Commissions have likewise been established to deal with matters falling within the broad areas of health and social policy. I have time only to list these. They are the Population Commission, the Narcotics Commission, the Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on the Status of Women,

and the Economic and Employment Commission. The relationship of these specific problems to the broad area of social policy in the international field is too obvious to require further elaboration on my part.

5. A number of important intergovernmental organizations have been established for the purpose of carrying out actual operations in the health and social welfare fields on the international level. Again I need only list these to indicate what I have in mind—the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Refugee Organization, and the International Children's Emergency Fund.

6. Certain other programs of a special character carried on directly under United Nations auspices and centering in the social welfare field add to the growing weight of evidence as to the future importance of health and welfare programs in the Councils of the Nations. I am thinking in particular of such special efforts as the United Nations Appeal for Children and the program of the United Nations Advisory Welfare Service, under which some \$670,000 has been appropriated for each of the last two years by the General Assembly to provide advisory welfare services and fellowships to foreign students and seminars in special regions of the world—all these undertakings relating exclusively to the social welfare field.

This catalogue might be continued, but to do so might serve merely to underline a point that I hope I have already made. The point is this: During the last three years we have assembled a more impressive array of machinery than we have ever known before for the development of collaboration on an international level in the fields of health and welfare. Out of the years that preceded World War II we have salvaged a good deal of

experience, a number of strong voluntary international organizations, and the International Labor Organization with its more than twenty-five years of solid achievement. In addition to these legacies from our previous efforts in the field of international collaboration for health and welfare, since San Francisco we have added impressively a whole battery, a whole array of organizations, specialized agencies, commissions, and so forth—all of them dedicated to the promotion of mankind's weal throughout the world by raising the standards of our health and social achievements. Surely we now have the machinery to do what should be done in the fields of health and welfare on the international level. What we need now more than anything else is to show that we have the will and the wit to make this machinery work.

Either we let this machinery rust away in idleness, impotence, and frustration, immobilizing it with disputes, dissension, and bickering; or, if we can but find agreement on methods and procedures as we have on the declared objectives set forth in the articles governing these vari-

ous international organs, then we may have some hope of setting our machinery successfully to work in the broad areas of international health and welfare policy.

It is too early yet for anyone to say just what the results will be. Only the broad horizons of the future, whose reaches we cannot yet penetrate with our limited vision, can indicate to us the extent to which the vast potential of this international machinery created for the promotion of human health and happiness will actually be realized. We have the opportunity now, we have the equipment, too, if we can but make use of them. It may very well be that the real success of the United Nations, the real opportunities for fruitful international collaboration, the real records of international achievement now lie in those areas of international policy—the fields of health and welfare—which lay so long unexploited and unexplored but which hold such rich promise for the future of all mankind.

DEPUTY MINISTER OF WELFARE
DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL
HEALTH AND WELFARE
DOMINION OF CANADA

INCOME SECURITY FOR THE AGED¹

EVELINE M. BURNS

TO AN increasing degree Americans are becoming uneasily aware of the fact that theirs is an aging population. Whereas in 1850 persons of sixty-five and over constituted only 2.6 per cent of the total population, they had increased by 1900 to 4.1 per cent, by 1940 to 6.8 per cent, or over nine million, and the trend is upward. It is estimated that 9.1 per cent of the American people will be sixty-five or over by 1960 and that by 2000 the number will run as high as 13.2 per cent, or between twenty and twenty-two million. This situation raises important economic problems. To the extent that capacity to participate in production declines with advancing years, it means that a smaller proportion of our man- and woman-power will be available to add to the sum total of goods and services on which the economic welfare and the high standard of living of the country ultimately depends. And because in our kind of society the individual's power to consume depends upon the extent of his contribution to production, the aging of the population presents us with an acute problem of devising some alternative source of income for an increasingly large proportion of the population. Estimates made in 1945 indicate that almost 52 per cent of those who were sixty-five and over were economically independent in the sense that their most significant source of income was derived from participation of themselves or their spouses in the labor market or from savings or deferred pay in the form of pri-

vate pensions. But about 48 per cent were dependent on other sources deriving income from public security measures (either social insurance or public assistance) or from relatives and other private sources.²

At this point I would like to make a rash and bold assumption, and inquire what a highly intelligent and rational people would do when faced with such a development. I suggest that they would consider the problem from two angles: First, they would ask whether it is inevitable that persons over sixty-five have to be written off as contributors to production and whether, if this is not inevitable, it is desirable to encourage or to discourage the aged from further employment. Second, if they felt that for a substantial proportion of the aged group productive activity would increasingly become limited and finally impossible, they would ask themselves what is the most appropriate kind of provision to be made for the income security of a group which is going to be numbered in the millions and at what standard of living they are to be supported.

We must never forget the extent to which our total national income is dependent upon the numbers of people who are actively at work. About three-fifths of the tremendous increase in the dollar value of our national output between 1940 and 1944 was due to our employment of additional workers (who also

¹ A paper given at the National Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City, April, 1948.

² *Issues in Social Security: A Report to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives* (H.R. 204, 79th Cong., 1st sess., 1946); computed from tables on pp. 268-71.

worked longer hours).³ The failure to make use of the labor power of so many million aged people, who, however, will be helping to consume whatever is produced by the remainder, is therefore of some consequence. It is sometimes said that this increase in the relatively non-productive age group is in large measure balanced by the decline in the young who are also in general a nonproductive segment of the total population. It is indeed true that the under-twenty age group, which represented 52.5 per cent of our people in 1850, had fallen to 34.5 per cent by 1940 and by the year 2000 will account for only 25.7 per cent.⁴ In other words, the proportion of the population in what we normally regard as the productive years has even increased over the last hundred years, rising from 44.9 per cent in 1850 to 58.7 per cent in 1940, and is expected to rise to 61.6 per cent by 2000. But this gives too optimistic a view, for a hundred years ago a very large proportion of the group from ten to nineteen was at work, while in the meantime we have almost completely eliminated child labor, and the increase in years of attendance at school and the extension of higher education have greatly cut down the labor supply which was once contributed by this younger group. Thus, I do not think we can regard with complacency the loss to the labor market represented by the growing and large proportion of aged persons.

Quite apart from purely economic considerations, I suggest that a rational society would feel it desirable to have as large a proportion of the aged at work as possible because of the effect upon the in-

dividuals themselves. All the evidence seems to show that the aged feel very acutely their enforced retirement from participation in the ordinary routine of working life. They are happier and better adjusted human beings if, when they desire to continue working, they are able to do so; and, other things being equal, a rational society would probably seek to make it possible for them to continue as useful and productive members of the society of which they are a part.

Discussion of the extent to which the aged can continue in the labor market and of some of the policies which might be applied is not my present concern. I merely wish to direct your attention to the fact that social security programs can operate either to encourage or to discourage labor-market participation on the part of the aged. When we write into our old age insurance programs a provision completely denying benefits to persons who earn more than a specified sum, our aim is in fact to encourage retirement. Note that I say "aim," for it must be confessed that we have not behaved like a rational people in the implementation of our objective. We have offered a benefit so low in relation to any conceivable minimum living standard that, unless the individual possesses considerable private resources, it will not be possible for him to retire. It is significant that at the present time almost a million people are entitled to Old-Age and Survivors Insurance benefits but have refrained from claiming them or have benefits withheld because of earnings.

I am, however, much more concerned with challenging the whole theory of putting inducements to retire into an O.A.S.I. program than to draw attention to the fact that we have not been very intelligent in the way we have attempted to operate an inducement system in the

³ J. Frederic Dewhurst and Associates, *America's Needs and Resources* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1947), p. 13.

⁴ Louis S. Dublin, "Problems of an Aging Population," *American Journal of Public Health*, February, 1947, pp. 152-55.

past. For I suggest that an intelligent and rational people would not put such inducements into its old age insurance program at all. When we passed the Social Security Act, we were in the midst of a depression and were convinced that there was but a limited demand for labor. We hoped to provide jobs for the young by getting the old out of the labor market. I suggest that, when we consider the statistics I have presented to you and the effect upon the aged themselves, we should abandon this policy in its entirety. It is significant that many other countries which have reached this population development somewhat earlier than America are considering ways and means of writing into their social security systems inducements *to continue working*. Thus the British provide that, for every six months a man continues working after the age of sixty-five, his pension, when he does claim it, will be increased by one shilling a week. I do not suggest that in our happier economic circumstances we should urge or force the aged to work; but I do believe that we should not use our social security program to discourage them from doing so.

Furthermore, if it is felt that for reasons of economy it is undesirable to pay full pensions to people who are earning full, normal wages, it is possible to effect a compromise between the interests of the taxpayer and of the insured worker without completely destroying the incentive to continue working, by adopting a more flexible arrangement than we have yet been prepared to envisage. Such an arrangement would provide for a fixed sum which could be earned with no effects upon the right to draw the full retirement benefit (and it would need to be much higher than the miserable \$15 monthly now set in the Social Security Act unless benefits are greatly increased)

and that for every so many dollars earned above that sum the benefit would decrease by a stated amount until at a certain point no benefit at all would be payable.⁵

In a consideration of the problem of income security, the question arises: What action would an intelligent society take? First of all, of course, a decision would have to be made as to whether or not general public provision is to be made and for what age groups. I suggest that, however great the efforts we make to enable or to encourage the aged to continue working, a very significant proportion of them will for the foreseeable future be unable to work after reaching age sixty-five and that for the approximately three millions who even now are seventy-five and over it is evident that it is unrealistic to expect work to provide their source of income. Since we do not know *which* members of the sixty-five to seventy-five group are likely to be able to continue to work, it is evident that we have to make some provision for the group as a whole. Two questions then face us: In what form shall that provision be made, and what level of income are we to assure these people?

With regard to the form of security, we can choose between two alternatives: social insurance and public assistance. From the viewpoint of the potential recipient, social insurance appears greatly

⁵ Since this was written, the report of the Advisory Council on Social Security has appeared and makes precisely this proposal and raises the limit from \$15 to \$35. Since the council also proposes changes in the benefit formula which would raise the average benefit for a man and wife to \$85, the retirement clause would permit a total income of \$120 a month (see *Old-Age Survivors Insurance: A Report to the Senate Committee on Finance from the Advisory Council on Social Security* [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948], pp. 10, 41-42). In addition the council proposes the complete elimination of the retirement test at age seventy.

to be preferred, and it is important that we should be very clear as to the reasons for this preference. Essentially it derives from three characteristics of this type of social security. First, it involves no necessity to undergo a means test or to come in contact with an institution, namely, public assistance, that despite our best efforts is still regarded with distaste by the vast mass of our citizens. Second, social insurance has the advantage of being predictable: a man can work out for himself roughly (in some systems, exactly) how much income he can expect and can plan his budgeting at the time of retirement and previously in the light of this knowledge. Third, and of great importance, social insurance frees him from dependence on official discretion. Disputes as to his rights turn around matters of fact by reference to standards and criteria precisely and definitely laid down in the law. It is these characteristics which give to the concept of "the right" to social insurance a reality that can never inhere in public assistance, however elaborately protected the rights of appeal.

At the same time, we have to recognize that social insurance may be a more costly program from the point of view of the rest of the community. If the benefits are to be sufficient to provide a minimum standard for the vast majority of recipients without necessity of recourse to supplementation from public assistance, the bill will be larger than when assistance is given only on the basis, and to the extent, of demonstrated need. If the program is to cover all segments of the population, it will be quite impossible for the lower-income groups to pay a significant share of the cost of their own benefits by previous contributions, and some public subsidy will be inevitable. It is not surprising, therefore, that most societies

have felt themselves unable to make the social insurance form of social security available to all their people. They have adopted various limitations, some of which make more sense than others. They have limited the right to benefit to persons who have contributed for a certain period of time. They have brought in everybody, or almost everybody, but have adjusted the benefit to the previous income or contributions of the recipients or have paid uniform benefits of so low an amount that a larger or smaller proportion of beneficiaries have to seek supplementary income from public assistance, thereby in part sacrificing the main advantage of this form of security from the recipients' point of view, as well as saddling the community with a duplicating administrative system.

The question of the extent to which the social insurance type of income maintenance shall be utilized cannot, however, be divorced from the related question of the standard of living which it is desired to assure the aged. For, under a social insurance system, the benefits of all will be fixed by uniform rules, whether the benefit formula be one which relates benefits to past earnings or provides for a uniform sum varying only with such identifiable characteristics as age or sex.

Although we started in 1935 with the idea that benefits should be related to previous earnings, we were forced from the first to qualify this principle in two major ways. We, in fact, weighted the benefit formula in favor of the lower-paid worker, and we imposed minimum and maximum monthly benefit limits. This made sense in a social insurance program whose object, we must never forget, is to deal in a large-scale manner with a major problem of personal economic insecurity. For a strict adjustment of benefits to earnings would have meant that the sys-

tem would have given the least significant income security to the very groups who were likely to need it most, and unless we had departed from strict proportionality we should have faced a much greater degree of supplementation of insurance benefit by assistance than we have so far experienced. Yet even here we were not entirely intelligent, for we fixed our minimum at a ridiculously low sum which bore no possible relation to minimum living costs. Even the recent proposals of the Social Security Administration to the Senate Advisory Committee for a minimum benefit of \$20 (a recommendation subsequently adopted by the council) equally fails to recognize that the major purpose of instituting an old age insurance program is to provide income security for the aged. Such a low dollar minimum is little more than an adjustment to the price increases since 1935—it in no way meets the complete inadequacy and indeed meaninglessness of the original sum. Its inadequacy will become even more apparent if and when the Social Security Act is amended to include in coverage such low-paid groups as agricultural workers and other marginal workers now excluded, for whom the presumption of significant supplementary savings is unrealistic.

The upper benefit limit also makes sense in principle in a public social insurance program. We must never forget that the use of compulsion on people to set aside income for specific purposes must always be kept within the narrowest limits consistent with the general interest. A case can be made for forcing everybody to lay aside from current earnings a sum sufficient to finance, or to help finance, a modest minimum income in old age. For the problem of income insecurity is a troublesome one for any nation, and the people are justified in taking meas-

ures through their government which will enable them to deal with it in the simplest possible manner, such as by adoption of the social insurance technique. But the primary purpose should at all times be borne in mind; and after this modest competence has been assured, I believe that it would be hard to justify forcing people, in effect, to provide for any greater degree of income security in old age *in this specific form*, namely, a cash government benefit. Beyond this limit, it would seem more in keeping with our American ideals to allow the individual the freedom, if he wishes to enjoy a higher standard than this modest benefit, to provide for it to the extent and in the form that he wishes, whether it be through private insurance or through purchase of land or houses or securities or the like.

Whether or not we retain the principle of differential benefits, therefore, awareness of the *social purpose* and *social justification* of an old age insurance system suggests that the range of variation cannot be very wide if we are to have a minimum benefit which, for the vast majority covered, avoids the necessity of seeking supplementation from some other public security program and a maximum benefit which leaves individuals free to secure a higher standard of living in old age by voluntary action. I am coming increasingly to believe that the only really satisfactory system is one which would provide for a uniform insurance benefit roughly related to the cost of a modest minimum living standard, but which might vary geographically in money terms with degree of urbanization (apparently the major fact causing significant differences in costs of living).

Adoption of such a policy would bring us continually face to face with the essentials of policy, namely, what minimum

standard of living we regard as appropriate for this important segment of the population. On the one hand, the lower limit is set by the necessity to meet realistically the challenge of income insecurity—the sum must assure a standard at least as high as we are prepared to assure those who make a claim for maintenance under the alternative public assistance system. On the other hand, we must remember always that if persons who are not producing continue to enjoy income, their consumption is inevitably drawn from the current output of the year in question and is, in this way, at the expense of the rest of the community. We should remember this fact when we lightly contemplate providing generous retirement benefits for a group which will number some 20 to 22 millions by the end of this century. If we wish the aged to enjoy a higher standard of living than they now do, without lowering the current standard of living of the younger groups in future years below what our current standard now is, we can achieve this result only by taking action *now* to assure that national productivity in those future years will be higher than it otherwise would be. This is a sobering thought, for it means that we ought logically today to give up more of our current consumer income to increase the capital or research resources of the country or to improve the health or education of the people—the producers of tomorrow.

In broad economic terms adoption of this benefit policy is no more than a public acceptance of the fact that the community is prepared to allow its aged to continue to exist even though they no longer contribute to production. The justification for making such a standard available through a social insurance system runs in terms of technical convenience. There is no other way of meeting

both the social problem and the desire of the mass of people for a form of security that does not involve recourse to a disliked public assistance system. Yet, since it is unrealistic to expect that each individual can contribute the full costs of this minimum security from his own earnings, subsidies from the upper-income groups become inevitable, and it may be felt essential to restrict this favored form of security to those who have at least contributed according to their ability and for a substantial period of time. This is the justification for the contributory eligibility requirements, and the more generous the benefit, the more strict these requirements may have to be, for the element of subsidy will be greater.

Even if the social insurance provisions were to be changed in some such direction as I have indicated, there would thus still be many hundreds of thousands—and, indeed, for some years even millions—of people for whom old age insurance benefits would not provide a solution of the income maintenance problem. There would always be some unable to satisfy the earnings or other eligibility qualifications (especially numerous in the early years of social insurance programs or after major extensions of coverage), and there would be those for whose needs the fixed or standard benefit would prove insufficient. In other words, there will always be need for some secondary security program. Indeed, until O.A.S.I. is considerably extended in coverage, the numbers seeking some other form of socially provided income will be very large. Twelve years after passage of the Social Security Act the numbers on old age assistance are larger than those drawing O.A.S.I. benefits. We should ask ourselves whether, since these numbers are so large (over two million) the kind of social security they now “enjoy” is the

best we can do for them. I suggest that it is not.

When we decided to isolate certain sections of the population for special or categorical nonsocial-insurance security treatment, one might have assumed that there was some rational reason for selecting the groups concerned. Certainly the characteristics of the aged (and for that matter dependent children also) are unique *from the point of view of social security planning*. On the one hand, they are a group whose dependence on socially provided income is likely to be long continued and fairly predictable. This fact not only has a bearing on the type of provision that it is desirable to make for such people, but it also enables the community more precisely to estimate costs. On the other hand, they are by definition people who either physically could not, in the case of old age assistance applicants, or, in the case of dependent children, socially should not, participate in production. Hence, one problem that always plagues the planners of social security systems, namely, the possibly adverse effect of assistance payments on the incentive to work, does not arise. I suggest that an impartial observer, assuming we were a rational people, would expect that these differences would somehow be reflected in the *form* of security we make available to these people. Presumably for such groups it would be more possible to make a payment that more adequately met minimum living needs without involving problems of economic incentive and the cash income would be made available to them in a form that, being dependable and of predictable amount, would enable them to go about their business of everyday living as far as possible like other self-reliant and self-respecting citizens. I am sure, too, that our observer would expect this special form

of security that we have created under the name of old age assistance to mirror the fact that we are dealing with very large numbers. An intelligent people, he would assume, would not seek to apply to millions a highly individualized form of income determination and treatment that makes great demands upon skilled manpower. He would expect, in other words, that our special old age program would be relatively formalized.

Yet what would he find? In far the greater majority of states he would discover that old age assistance is only a more generous type of general assistance, differing from it not at all in *essential form*. It is a program which involves consideration of each case, individual by individual. With the exception of a handful of states there is no indication in the law as to the normal monthly payment that the individual can count on. Only a relatively small proportion of states require that the budgetary standard shall consist of even eight basic necessities, and still fewer indicate the money cost of such items. Large discretion is left not only to local agencies but often also to individual workers as to what items shall be included in the budget and as to the money amount given for each (i.e., the actual content of the allowance for food, shelter, or clothing, etc.). Definitions of need are equally vague, as would be expected when there is so little specification of the minimum living standard which the state aims at assuring its aged. There is also great lack of precision as to the treatment of resources and as to the extent to which income from relatives is to be held available for the support of the applicant.⁶ It is true that there exists a

⁶ Cf. "State Responsibility for Definiteness in Assistance Standards," *Social Security Bulletin*, March, 1947, pp. 29-34; and Virgil Sheppard, "Standards for Old-Age Assistance," *Public Welfare in Indiana*, February, 1943, pp. 10-14.

right of appeal, but to what is the applicant to appeal when the law and administrative regulations fail to define the nature of the program? At most he can appeal from the discretion of one administrator to that of another. Nor can it even be argued that in compensation for the fact that this program fails to provide any one of the values which seem to make social insurance so favored, old age assistance has the advantage of meeting individual need more adequately and in full. The most striking feature of our old age assistance programs is the tremendous spread in average payments from state to state, a spread that in no way corresponds to differences in living costs or the probable size of private resources possessed by applicants and that involves, at the lower end of the scale, payments so low that they cannot possibly be assumed to meet even the barest need. Indeed, there are still states in which, after the elaborate process of determining the budgetary deficiency has been completed at considerable cost in terms of the use of trained personnel, only a percentage of the amount found due is paid because of financial stringency.

Is this the best we can do for several millions of Americans? Remember that I am speaking of those who, for one reason or another, we are unable to provide for on the social insurance program, which I take to be our primary security measure. Is there for these people no alternative to social insurance or public assistance, no form of security which might protect the interests of the rest of the community and yet more nearly meet the desire of the aged for some measure of certainty, predictability, and freedom from administrative discretion? I think there is. I believe that we should secure a much better compromise between the various

interests if we were prepared to adopt for the aged whom we cannot or will not handle through social insurance some form of noncontributory old age pension as it has been developed in many other countries and of which the British 1908 Old Age Pension or the current New Zealand old age benefit provides an excellent example. The essence of this type of social security, which is neither social insurance nor public assistance but has elements of both, can be briefly characterized.

First, the law itself sets up certain standard monthly payments in money terms to which all eligible applicants are normally entitled.

Second, the law also states the maximum income which applicants may possess in order to be entitled to the full standard payment and further provides for specific reductions in the standard payment as the applicant's income increases by certain stated amounts. There is a final upper limit of income beyond which no payment is made.

Third, the law states with considerable precision exactly what is meant by income—for example, it may state that income means income of the individual applicant and/or his spouse, specifically ruling out income contributions from relatives, or it may provide that these contributions shall be treated as income only under certain clearly prescribed circumstances. Furthermore, the law defines what types and amounts of income from property are to be exempt entirely from the calculation of income for the purpose of determining eligibility and sets out the principles to be applied in evaluating income (e.g., standard evaluations to be set on income in kind or the income equivalence of property of certain types).

Fourth, under this system procedures

are formalized whenever possible. Re-investigation to determine continued eligibility may take place at long intervals, and it may even take the form of requiring the applicant to send in an annual statement (similar to an income-tax return), reporting changes in economic circumstances and involving individual reinvestigation in the home only for the purpose of spot checks.

I believe that, from the point of view of the applicant unable to benefit from O.A.S.I., this type of public aid has many advantages as compared with our present highly individualized special public assistance. In the first place it involves a more formalized test of need, and there is much evidence to indicate that an income test is generally less offensive to people than an exhaustive test of need. Among other things, it involves no examination or discussion of individual budgetary needs. Second, and this is especially important, this type of social security system enables the individual to discover for himself within fairly narrow limits just how much socially provided income he can count on. Third, the recipient is left free, provided that he can get by on the allowance, to spend his income as he wishes, to use or not to use services as he pleases, and to exercise to the full such initiative as he is capable of. Finally, it sets real limits to official discretion. Mr. Bigge has already pointed out that, despite all precautions and with the most sympathetic administration, the process of budget determination inevitably appears to the applicant as a form of control or direction.⁷ Under the system that I am proposing, contact with the administrator in the home would be reduced to a minimum. Fur-

thermore, a system such as this has much more chance of implementing the concept of "the right to public assistance" because the character of the right is spelled out in a more objective fashion in the law itself and because appeals against administrative decisions are more realistic since the criteria and the points at issue are more and more matters for objective factual determination.

From the viewpoint of the population not in receipt of socially provided income, too, such a system has advantages. It is a method of dealing with large numbers with a minimum of administrative supervision and expense. All those who can manage on the stated payment can be left to themselves so far as their income security is concerned. The group which requires additional financial aid can still be assisted through the general assistance program, but the numbers who will thus require highly individualized treatment for *social security purposes* will be greatly reduced. At the same time, the presence of an income test differentiates the system from social insurance and means that payments will be made only to those who have demonstrated need by passage of the income test.

Nor is there anything particularly novel about the proposal I am making. Professor Edith Abbott has long urged a pension of essentially this type.⁸ A handful of states already specify in their laws a minimum dollar sum which must be assured to the applicant by the assistance payment plus his own resources. When this is accompanied by considerable precision in the legal provisions governing the determination of resources—extent

⁷ George E. Bigge, "Looking Ahead in Public Assistance," *Social Security Bulletin*, December, 1944, p. 5.

⁸ See esp., Edith Abbott, "Public Assistance: Whither Bound?" *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1937 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 3 ff.

of relatives' responsibility, types and extent of disregarded income, and the like—the system becomes identical with what I am proposing. Furthermore, it would seem that the same result would be achieved by those states which took to heart the exhortations of the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Administration in its recent publication, "State Responsibility for Definiteness in Assistance Standards."⁹ For, the more responsibility the state accepted for indicating precisely which items are to be provided for in the budgetary allowance and for determining the money cost to be allowed for each such item, the closer such a program would approach the uniform standard minimum money pension for which I am pleading. Where the required items and cost indications were exhaustive, the identity would be complete.

I am well aware that certain objections have been made to such a change in the nature of our present old age assistance program. Some administrators have objected to it on the ground that it does not permit individualized treatment. I would argue that when we are dealing with millions this is, on the contrary, one of the real advantages of the proposal, especially since, as I have suggested, it does not eliminate the possibility of giving individualized treatment to those who cannot manage on the fixed payment. It has also been objected that the system would be undesirably rigid, that the state legislatures meet only infrequently, and that in the meantime costs of living might change and the dollar-standard pension become meaningless. To this I would reply that rapid responsiveness to changed living costs has not hitherto been an outstanding characteristic of our existing programs which have had to

operate with appropriations fixed by infrequently meeting legislatures.¹⁰ And, in any case, why should we not take advantage of the social inventions at our disposal? We live in an age which makes great use of the device of a cost-of-living index. Why not use it for the social security program and, when the money pension is first written into the law, provide that thereafter for every so many points change in the cost-of-living index in either direction the cash pension shall also change by a prescribed amount? Remember that I asked you initially to imagine that we were an intelligent and rational people, and the state of Utah, which already makes use of the cost-of-living index in this way for its unemployment insurance benefits, proves that our assumption of rationality is not altogether unreal.

Yet another objection is made, namely, that any money sum written into the law would inevitably be fixed at the lowest amount which would be accepted by the least liberal areas. But here again we need not despair. First, the very fact that this is a state and not a federal program allows considerable flexibility. There would be no more reason, under the system I am proposing, for the old age pension in California or Washington to be held down to the level which is provided in North Carolina or Virginia than is the average payment on old age assistance at the present time. Why not reap this advantage of a state program? Second, to the extent that there are differences in the costs of a uniform minimum-living standard within states, why not do what we did under the W.P.A. program and provide different standard money pensions according to the degree of urbaniza-

⁹ See n. 6, above.

¹⁰ "Trends in Consumer Prices and Assistance Payments, 1946," *Social Security Bulletin*, February, 1947, pp. 32-36.

tion? That is what Sweden does, to cite another example of a rational people. Finally, there seems to be some rather general feeling about writing a specific sum of money into the law since it would bring the matter of the precise pension too prominently to public attention. But surely this is one of the greatest possible advantages of the secondary system I propose. Far too little is known at the present time about the money incomes in fact permitted to recipients of old age assistance. To write a specific standard into the law would bring the citizens face to face with their own meanness or generosity and would foster more intelligent discussion of the whole question of the appropriate standard of living of this group and of the various interests that must be compromised.

After all, unless the form of security in some way or other reflects the special characteristics of the selected group that are relevant for social security planning, what is the justification for special treatment and a separate social security program? One of the major justifications for the selection of the present categories has come to be largely of historical significance. In the past, categorization was undoubtedly a very effective method of securing more adequate funds for certain groups of those deprived of income. Groups were selected with regard to whom there was either a strong body of public sentiment or for whom it could be argued that economic and other reasons for niggardly treatment had no application. It was in general possible to argue, for example, that they were in large measure not responsible for their current state of insecurity. It seems doubtful whether, in view of the changed climate of opinion in the last twenty years, this justification for the categorical approach has any great validity. Indeed, in some

ways the categorical approach now operates as a boomerang. The very strength of some categories (e.g., the aged) has tended to be detrimental to the interests of others, such as children. If now, therefore, the initial justification for categorization is no longer so powerful and if there are even some disadvantages, it is all the more necessary to satisfy ourselves that there are other convincing justifications for its retention.

It is sometimes said that this justification resides in the fact that the groups now treated on a categorical basis are people with unique and identifiable types of need. It is often urged that the aged (and incidentally families with dependent children) need certain types of services in addition to economic aid. This fact, however, would justify old age assistance as it exists today only if it could also be shown (a) that these special needs are peculiar to those of the aged who need some form of public aid and are not experienced by persons otherwise similar who are living on their own resources and (b) that these special needs can most appropriately be met by performing the service in the closest possible connection with the meeting of economic need. In fact I believe that both these assumptions can be questioned and would be questioned by most social workers. Undoubtedly, aged people have some special needs, but these are common to many in these same age groups who are not in receipt of economic aid.

In the same way there is reason to doubt whether the attempt to combine both economic aid and the rendering of other services is in the best interests of the development and quality of these other services. On the contrary I believe that the non-economic services will have a better and a sounder chance of develop-

ing if they are more sharply separated from the administration of socially provided income. In many cases they are likely to be more readily accepted by the public aid recipient if they are not thought of as a concomitant of the receipt of special public assistance. Certainly they are more likely to be utilized by other segments of the population if the lack of connection with the public assistance process is more evident. Again, I believe there would be more opportunity to evaluate the character and quality of these other services on their own merits if they were more sharply separated from the administration of public assistance than is now the case when they are, so to speak, "squeezed in" as a subordinate and often publicly unappreciated part of the process of giving economic assistance. It may be objected that the public is not ready for these other services and that the only way to develop them is by bringing them in through the back door of the public assistance process. I doubt the validity of

this objection. Already there are encouraging signs of a growing social awareness of the many problems of service associated with the growing numbers and proportions of the aged in the total population.

I suggest, therefore, that the time has come for social workers to make the case for services as such on their own ground and that they are likely to rest upon a more secure basis of public support and understanding if they are so thought of. In any case, there is something socially unhealthy about a development of social services which is primarily confined to those population groups who happen to be in receipt of public aid. Finally, a clearer separation of the functions of economic aid from the other social and welfare services would lead to many administrative simplifications and would enable us to make more effective use of the all too limited numbers of highly trained social workers.

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THE RESPECTIVE ROLES OF GOVERNMENTAL AND VOLUNTARILY SUPPORTED SOCIAL WORK¹

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THE vast web of social welfare programs in the United States is an expression of individual and organized interest in human welfare. The origin and the growth of these programs are responsible for many distinctions among them. Some of these have to do with fields of service and are reflected in such sections of the program of the National Conference of Social Work as child care, aged, public welfare, delinquency, health, and industrial and economic problems. A second approach to the analysis of social welfare programs has been by the method of professional service which is employed. The Conference, therefore, has program sections on social case work, social group work, community planning and organization, administration, and methods of social action.

There is a third way by which we distinguish among the many welfare programs in our society. This is by designating whether the programs are managed by boards of citizens and supported by voluntary contributions or whether they are managed by government and supported by tax funds. I shall refer to the former as voluntary agencies and to the latter as official or governmental agencies. The respective roles of these agencies have frequently been a subject for discussion on the program of the National Conference of Social Work. The implications in professional practice have been noted in a resolution passed by the Dele-

gate Conference of the American Association of Social Workers in 1944, in which the association agreed "to examine the experience of the profession in relating voluntary to public auspices and undertake to formulate principles and methods of organization and operation that will promote cooperation and reduce conflict of interest with respect to areas of work, personnel, financing and public interpretation."²

There is good reason why the relationship and the respective roles of governmental and voluntarily supported social work are examined periodically. The relationship is a dynamic one that causes continuous changes in these agencies. These changes grow directly out of the social, political, and economic trends in our society. For this reason, different nations develop different relationships between the voluntary and official programs, just as they develop different social security measures. Sir William Beveridge has aptly remarked: "The social security plans of each people are part of its national culture, and should be adapted to its national tastes, like its houses, or its education, or the shapes of its women's hats, or the meaning which it attaches to the word 'cracker.'"³

Because of the dynamic, changing nature of the relationship between voluntary and governmental agencies, one can make generalizations about their respec-

² *Compass*, XXV (June, 1944), 13.

¹ A paper given at the National Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City, April, 1948.

³ "On Going to America," in *The Pillars of Security* (1942), p. 177 (cited in the *Social Service Review*, XXI [December, 1947], 455).

tive roles only with regard to a specific nation at a particular time. This analysis will be limited to the relationship as it exists in the United States in 1948. Even in this country there is great diversity of arrangements which is due to traditions that have become firmly imbedded in the political structure of certain states. In Pennsylvania, for example, public funds have traditionally been given in large amounts as subsidies to welfare, health, and educational institutions which are under voluntary auspices. Massachusetts, on the contrary, forbids by state constitutional provision the payment of public funds to voluntary agencies. Not only do relationships vary from state to state, but they also differ from one field of social welfare to another. Subsidies from public funds, for example, have most often been given to private child care agencies and hospitals but are seldom given regularly to private family welfare agencies.

Before undertaking an analysis of the respective roles of public and private agencies, I must make clear the difference I see between social work and social welfare. In this country we are developing a professional service, social work, which has an identity apart from the agency in which it is practiced and which has a distinctive body of knowledge and skills. The fact that a person is employed in a child welfare agency or in a settlement does not in itself make him a social worker. It is the way he works with people—individuals, groups, and communities—that is the criterion as to whether or not the service he renders is professional. Social welfare programs, on the contrary, have been described as attempts to fill up the gaps in the usual institutional arrangements in our soci-

ety.⁴ They arise out of problems that affect people so seriously that philanthropic individuals, groups, and finally government, set up programs to alleviate or prevent the problems. Social welfare programs may operate without the personnel qualifying as a whole or even in part as professional social workers; but social workers, for the most part, seldom work outside social welfare agencies. We might say that social welfare programs tend to be problem centered, while social work, operating within such a framework, is person or people centered. As a professional service, social work is essentially the same whether practiced in a governmental or a voluntary agency, but social welfare services differ according to the auspices under which they operate.

Although my assignment was to discuss the respective roles of governmental and voluntarily supported social work, I shall dwell primarily on the roles of social welfare agencies under governmental and voluntary auspices. The subject has so many ramifications that only the more general aspects can be presented. "Social welfare services" as used here refers to economic and social adjustment of all kinds, health, recreation, and community planning. In general, certain intrinsic differences are found in governmental and voluntarily supported social welfare programs which make for differences in the part each plays in the total community program of services. I shall present five differences that seem significant and then indicate their effect upon the role of the governmental and the voluntary agency.

SOME INTRINSIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GOVERNMENTAL AND VOLUNTARY PROGRAMS

The factors that seem to make for difference are (1) basic motivation or phi-

⁴Helen Witmer, *Social Work* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1942), p. 486.

losophy, (2) the legal bases under which each type of agency operates, (3) the volume and distribution of services, (4) methods of administration, and (5) the sources of funds. Let us consider each of these.

Basic motivation or philosophy.—There are important differences in philosophy between voluntary and official agencies which will become evident if we look at the historical development of each type of agency. Voluntarily supported services, sectarian or nonsectarian, are rooted in human nature. Sympathy with others produces social bonds that take the form of organized effort. An eminent philosopher has said, "The kindness that expresses itself in charity is as fundamental an element in human nature as are any in our original endowment. The man without a generous impulse is abnormal and abhorrent."⁵

This fundamental impulse to help those in distress is found in animals lower than man; but in man the suffering of another finds identification or response within himself. Religion has given values and obligations to this human sympathy; and while different faiths have placed different values upon charity, it is universally a part of religion. In the case of the Catholic and Jewish faiths—but for different reasons—a system of charitable agencies and institutions has developed as an expression of moral obligation. The obligation felt by a donor, however, is a personal one, and the recipient on his side has no actual claim upon it.⁶ Probably because Protestantism has no central organization such as that of the Roman church, it has traditionally encouraged

the transfer of certain philanthropic work from ecclesiastical to nonsectarian or to state control.⁷ Within the past few years, however, the Protestant churches in several large cities have united on an interdenominational basis to carry on selected social work activities and have undertaken to arouse a strong self-consciousness among Protestants.

If we conclude that voluntary philanthropy or charity rests upon the common human impulse of sympathy with those in distress and causes a sense of moral obligation on the part of the donor, it is easy to understand that eventually a point is reached when the obligation is seen as that of the whole community. A man injured by an industrial accident might receive the rehabilitation he needs from a voluntary agency, but eventually the citizens supporting such an agency inquire why men should be injured. Concern is shifted from individual need to social need. The responsibility then becomes one which the government must assume. To put it in another way, we might say that governmental welfare services arise, distinct and apart from sectarian and nonsectarian philanthropy, at the point at which the needs of numbers of people exceed the resources made available by voluntary associations to such an extent that the hardships and suffering of people offend the sense of justice of the majority of the population.

A program that rests upon a broad base of social acceptance ceases to be a charity. A most important difference from the voluntary agency then emerges, namely, that when government provides a service, it becomes a right to which recipients may lay claim. The development in public assistance in this country during the last fifteen years is a good illus-

⁵ George H. Mead, "Philanthropy from the Point of View of Ethics," in *Intelligent Philanthropy*, ed. Ellsworth Faris, Ferris Laune, and Arthur J. Todd (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), p. 133.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Shailer Mathews, "The Protestant Churches and Charity," in *Intelligent Philanthropy*, p. 118.

tration of this fact. The Social Security Administration has interpreted the intent of Congress to mean that public assistance as provided by the Social Security Act requires money payments to which those in need have a right. What was once individual beneficence has become community responsibility. This very important difference in philosophy and motivation has significant implications for the respective roles of governmental and voluntary agencies.

Legal bases.—The legal bases for both governmental and voluntary welfare services are rooted in the English law and traditions. The year 1601 saw the enactment in England of the Poor Law of Elizabeth and the Statute of Charitable Uses. They were complementary measures. The Poor Law made provision for relief of the poor from tax funds as the lesser of evils—it would prevent begging and would alleviate extreme suffering. Whatever might be done by private donors would relieve the state by that much. The Statute of Charitable Uses, therefore, offered certain prerogatives for the encouragement of charitable trusts for relief, education, and religion. In the seventeenth century the doctrine of social responsibility was in embryo.

In the United States, church and state have been completely separated. The successful establishment of charitable, educational, and religious institutions under a purely voluntary system of support has been termed "an unprecedented achievement of American democracy."⁸ While separate from the state, such voluntary agencies have had the protection that the tradition of English law has provided. Most American states have recognized the underlying law of

the Statute of Charitable Uses as in force irrespective of enactment of that statute.⁹ For this reason charitable trusts which are in the public interest have enjoyed such privileges as exemption from taxation, endowments held in perpetuity, and liberal interpretation of their intent by the courts. Further evidence of the attitude that charitable trusts are considered in the public interest is found in the precedents of court decisions which have held that a trust, once valid, belongs to the public and, if the trustees fail, the property belongs to the state. The prevailing sentiment has been that the voluntary agency furnishes services which otherwise would have to be provided from public funds and should be encouraged to do so. The state, however, reserves the right to inspect and license in order to insure that the voluntary services are in the public interest.

The history of social security legislation illustrates the evolution of public provision. The legal antecedent for governmental services in the United States resides in the poor law. While not specifically enacted into statute law in all states, the English system of poor relief was transplanted into all but one state. This meant local responsibility for those in need, with the administration of relief under deterrent policies on the theory that people became permanently dependent if assistance was made too readily available. Where the local government—the county or the township—could not provide for a handicapped group such as the insane, the state took over institutional care. The federal government under the limitations of the Constitution took responsibility for direct care only for such groups as Indians and veterans

⁸ Dr. Charles W. Eliot, quoted in *The Yearbook of Philanthropy*, 1940, ed. John Price Jones (New York: Inter-river Press, 1940).

⁹ Ernst Freund, "Legal Aspects of Philanthropy," in *Intelligent Philanthropy*, p. 152.

of wars.¹⁰ During the second decade of the twentieth century the states one by one began to enact workmen's compensation legislation. This introduced haltingly, to be sure, a new concept of public responsibility—the concept that industrial accidents were a hazard outside the control of the individual workman. The state, therefore, was responsible for preventing and alleviating this hazard for two reasons: first, for the protection of the person injured who might claim insurance as a right and, second, for the benefit of the state whose citizens' spending power was maintained.

When the prolonged depression of the 1930's made necessary federal aid to the states for relief to the unemployed, a new era in governmental responsibility began to take form in this country. The two streams of legal provision were merged in the Social Security Act of 1935. The principle of federal aid to the states for public assistance to three groups for whom self-maintenance is seldom possible—the aged, the blind, and dependent children—became a permanent policy of the federal government, thus breaking down the tradition of local responsibility. At the same time the act introduced social insurance as a part of public policy for the protection of the population against the hazards of old age, widowhood, and unemployment. A new concept of public welfare began to emerge under the designation of a "social security program." Its objectives, as stated by the Social Security Board in 1946, are these:

¹⁰ Children have long been of concern to the federal government, as expressed through the excellent program of the Children's Bureau, whose services for most of the period since its establishment in 1912 have been educational, promotional, and standard-setting. Since 1935 it has administered certain health and welfare services relating to children, under the Social Security Act.

To attain the objectives of a social security program, the Board believes, social insurance and public assistance, separately or in combination, must provide against all common hazards to livelihood among all groups of the population. . . . The Board believes that comprehensive and adequate provision for contributory social insurance is essential to national and individual security in the circumstances of modern life. . . . Social insurance can make it possible for the great majority of all families to maintain their economic independence when they meet with common risks over which they have little or no individual control.¹¹

This statement illustrates that public provision is ceasing to be a charity and is becoming a preventive program for protection of all the population against certain hazards specifically recognized as residing in the economy and not necessarily in the individual. Not only individual security but also national welfare is considered to be at stake.

These differences in the legal bases for voluntary and governmental services produce three important consequences: (1) Whereas the voluntary agency can be selective of its clientele and of the scope of its services, the public agency has an "inescapability of obligation"; that is, it must provide for all who are eligible under the law as well as for those for whom no other agency will make provision. (2) A second difference is in the accountability of each type of agency. The voluntary agency may or may not be incorporated as a legal body. As long as it meets the minimum requirements of executing the charitable trust in the public interest, the state does not usually interfere with it. In recent years attention has been called to the number of foundations which have been incorporated by individuals, families, or corporations who refuse to make public any kind of information concerning the amount of

¹¹ *Annual Report of the Federal Security Agency, 1946, Sec. VI, p. 427.*

capital assets or what funds they distribute annually. In most states no reports of any kind are at present required from such foundations; in other words, they are accountable only to the donor or donors. The question might be raised whether the prerogatives guaranteed by the seventeenth-century Statute of Charitable Trusts does not need re-examination in the light of twentieth-century conditions.

In contrast to the limited accountability of the voluntary agency is the governmental agency. It exists by virtue of the will of the majority of the people, having been created by the elected representatives of the people, and is responsible to the electorate. The governmental agency is consequently accountable for its activity and is open to constant scrutiny and criticism. (3) The final difference to be noted is the effect these legal differences have upon the form and availability of the services. The voluntary agency, as previously pointed out, maintains its service as a philanthropy or charity. It is free to make some charge for it as long as the nonprofit motive is retained. Recipients have no claim upon such services since they exist out of the liberality of the donors. In contrast to this is the form the public service takes. It tends to be gratuitous, to become the right of the recipients—in other words, to become a public service to which all members of the population may lay claim. It thus loses all connotation of charity. An eminent lawyer has made the distinction in these words:

It seems a just generalization to say that whereas disposition by way of liberality is the exception in the use of private wealth, it is the normal thing in the expenditure of public funds, and the public is not moved by the impulse of liberality, but by the thought of public welfare and of social standards.¹²

¹² Freund, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-68.

In brief, the voluntary agency exists through the will of the donors; and its legal status derives from the tradition that the state encourages and protects charitable trusts that are in the public interest. The governmental agency, on the contrary, depends for its existence upon the action of legislative bodies, which create social welfare agencies to give service to the total population of the political jurisdiction concerned.

Volume and distribution of services.—The number of beneficiaries and the amount of money spent for social welfare services in the United States is impossible to estimate. The statement has been made that in 1940 the physical assets and investments alone of philanthropic enterprises ranked them fourth among American industries.¹³ This estimate, however, included not only welfare but all forms of philanthropy such as educational, religious, scientific, and other eleemosynary enterprises. The total expenditure from tax funds is not easily obtainable either. Although the number of beneficiaries and total amount spent for economic assistance is now available through the Social Security Administration, there is no similar system of central reporting for recreation, health, and community-planning services. Probably no one would dispute the statement that at present the number of persons who are receiving public assistance and other services exceeds many times the number who are benefiting from voluntary services.

The magnitude of the public services is an outgrowth of the philosophy and legal basis for such services previously discussed, for governmental services tend to become universal once they have been established. While our state-local system

¹³ Jones (ed.), in *The Yearbook of Philanthropy*, 1940, p. 3.

of government produces great inequalities from state to state with respect to resources for and administration of services, the federal participation in certain programs has tended toward the development of national minimum standards which must be guaranteed by all political subdivisions as a condition of federal aid. Where the program is wholly federal, such as the Veterans Administration program of medical care, considerable uniformity is achieved throughout the nation.

By their very origin, on the other hand, voluntary agencies are selective. First, they are primarily urban. The impulse to help others is most often aroused in the face of dire suffering such as was produced by the growth of cities. Slums, sickness, street waifs, touched the sympathy of different individuals and philanthropic groups of people. Voluntary programs, consequently, are segmental; that is, they grow out of the sympathy of donors and are not expected to provide comprehensive coverage of all social ills.

The volume and the distribution of voluntary agency programs often tend to be supplementary in urban areas. This is true with respect to kinds of services; e.g., economic assistance and social adjustment services in thirty-one urban areas were supported predominantly from public funds in 1946, whereas community planning was dependent in these same communities almost entirely upon voluntary funds. It was found also that those cities which showed a lag in public expenditures for welfare services had higher than average expenditures from voluntary contributions.¹⁴

Methods of administration.—It follows from the differences in volume and dis-

¹⁴ Community Chests and Councils, Inc., *Expenditures for Community Health and Welfare in Thirty-one Urban Areas* (New York: Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 1946), pp. 4-5.

tribution of voluntary and official services that their administration presents decidedly different problems. The city—or even the state-wide voluntary agency is a small operation, on the whole, compared with a local or state public agency. This element of size and degree of complexity affects the nature of the administrative process. The voluntary agency staff, executive, and board can know one another at first hand. Interpersonal relationships are direct, and division of responsibility can be readily agreed upon. For this reason, also, the private agencies have lagged in classifying jobs and compensation and in formulating written personnel standards. On the other hand, the employee and executive in a big public agency may be known to one another only through memorandums or regulations which pass over one another's desks. The larger the agency, the greater the danger of depersonalization and inflexibility. At its worst this becomes bureaucracy, a form of organization with hierarchical arrangement of functions and persons which exists as an end in itself without due regard for the clientele it was created to serve. The public agencies, and indeed the large voluntary agencies, must constantly struggle against this kind of rigid system with dry rot at the center. The lessening of such a danger is possible if the quality of administration is such as to insure stability while kindling a vision of public service in the employees.

Karl de Schweinitz has well pointed out that the mandate of the public agency springs from the whole community, which represents divergent and competing points of view and interests. These are never finally reconciled, he says, but move from the legislative halls to the executive offices of the state or local governments. The personnel of the

public agencies, therefore, work in a much more "tentative situation" than do persons in private agencies; they never know when the chief executive may be reversed by the legislature and the legislature in turn by the electorate.¹⁵

It is evident that the voluntary agency is highly personal and can be flexible in its dealings with staff. The governmental agency, however, is likely to be impersonal, its services specialized and standardized so that their administration becomes involved and inflexible. Its program cannot be easily changed without action by the legislature, often a cumbersome, slow procedure. The voluntary agency depends for change of program upon the initiative of a group of individuals, more or less like-minded, who cooperate with other agencies in a wholly voluntary fashion in defining their scope within a community-wide program of social services.

Sources of funds.—The governmental agency is dependent upon appropriations made by legislative bodies annually or biennially. To the extent to which public opinion supports social welfare programs, the tax funds are regularly forthcoming. When opinion has not wholly accepted a service, the appropriations may be uncertain from time to time. Especially when a program is wholly federal and when political parties are struggling for power, it may become a political football. The Works Progress Administration, a temporary program from 1935 to 1941, is a good example of the uncertainty of appropriations which can plague administrators. It is to be hoped that appropriations for the Veterans Administration and parts of the Federal Security Agency will not become sym-

bols of contention between the major political parties. There is some indication that the efforts of Congress to economize may hit such centrally administered programs, since their budgets are large enough to warrant continuous scrutiny. If such scrutiny is in the public interest, it is to be welcomed as a protection against bureaucratic administration; but if the examination is for partisan purposes primarily, it may be unfair and disastrous to the morale of the agency.

The source of tax funds for health and welfare services, as previously noted, was traditionally the local government. Within a state such funds may vary so greatly from county to county as to create serious problems of equitable treatment for the citizens of a commonwealth. The growing acceptance of the principle of state and federal aid to the localities for social welfare purposes seems to offer assurance of greater uniformity of resources than formerly, but much remains to be done to establish a system of federal-state-local support which is related to the varying resources of the states and which is comprehensive enough for coverage of those services which make up a total welfare program.

The source of funds for the support of voluntary agencies has undergone considerable change within the last twenty-five years. The most important single influence has been the advent of the community chest with its principle of federated fund-raising and supervision of expenditures for participating agencies. This has brought business-like methods and economy into the financing of voluntary welfare services, but at the same time it has tended to remove the donor from firsthand personal interest in the agency he supports. He gives from a sense of duty—which chest campaigns

¹⁵ Karl de Schweinitz, *People and Process in Social Security* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1948), pp. 102-4.

stress—or because of social pressure more often than he gives from the sense of personal obligation which motivated the founders of voluntary organizations at an earlier period. The chest movement is well established, however, as a method of financing voluntary social work in urban areas. The 240 campaigns held in 1925 have grown steadily to a total of 798 campaigns in 1946.

The source of gifts to community chests has steadily broadened in base. Indications are that the big giver is giving less and that more small givers are broadening the base of support. Reasons for this would seem to be heavy taxation of large incomes, war appeals which have been said to establish new giving habits among the rank and file, and improved campaign and publicity methods. The individual large donor is supplemented by two relatively new sources of revenue of considerable significance: the corporation gift and the labor-union solicitation of its own members. Community Chests and Councils, Inc., was instrumental in 1935 in securing federal legislation to permit corporations to deduct charitable gifts from income tax returns to a maximum of 5 per cent of net income. The result is that in 1946 corporation gifts accounted for about 34 per cent of the total raised in 186 campaigns.¹⁶

The entrance of organized labor actively into participation in and support of voluntary social welfare programs is of great significance. It was induced by the conditions of war which required united effort in support of international, national, and local war programs. While chests for many years had solicited workers at their place of employment and had enlisted the help of the employer in organizing them for solicitation, the

assumption of responsibility by labor itself is a new development. In 1942 an agreement for united fund-raising was worked out between Community Chests and Councils, Inc., the American Red Cross, and representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. As a consequence, the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. alone were responsible for approximately 20 per cent of the total amount raised in some cities.¹⁷ Labor's participation in fund-raising has other implications. Traditionally, organized labor has looked with suspicion upon voluntary agencies which have necessarily been organized and supported, for the most part, by labor's employers. In agreeing to help raise money for such agencies, both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. have made clear that their primary interest is not in money-raising but in participation in total community planning. As one representative has stated:

Giving is good, but giving carries with it the obligation of planning, budgeting, and spending. We can meet our full responsibilities only when we participate actively in the formulation of policies, in the making of decisions, and in the general operations of those agencies which we help to support either through taxation or through voluntary contributions.¹⁸

This kind of aggressive interest has made some voluntary agencies uneasy as to their readiness to accept such virile leadership. Can they reconcile the interests of labor in a total community program with the interests of powerful board members who may want to maintain the status quo of the voluntary agency? By

¹⁷ *Social Work Year Book, 1945*, ed. Russell H. Kurtz (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1945), p. 90.

¹⁸ Leo Perlis, "Congress of Industrial Organizations Participation in Health and Welfare Planning," *National Conference of Social Work, 1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 230.

¹⁶ *Social Work Book, 1947*, ed. Russell H. Kurtz (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947), p. 107.

and large, labor favors the philosophy that underlies public social services, viz., that welfare and health services should be provided in the same way that education is made available for everyone in the United States. The effect of labor's participation may be profound if it is uninterrupted.¹⁹

A word should be said about the sectarian agencies. Both Catholic and Jewish welfare services are organized into separate co-ordinating agencies or federations. Most of these participate in community chests; but the Jewish group, whose overseas obligations have been very heavy, has widely carried on additional financial campaigns. By their very origin, the sectarian agencies are less affected by the trends in giving than are the nonsectarian agencies; that is, the purpose of the sectarian agency, especially the Catholic agency, remains identified with the charitable impulse and continues to be interpreted as a personal expression of the group, regardless of sources of income.

Within the past few years the number of fund-raising campaigns outside the community chest has grown steadily. In addition to the American Red Cross and the Tuberculosis and Health Association, which have usually conducted separate campaigns, new nationally organized health programs have flourished. For the most part these are aimed at alleviation and prevention of specific conditions such as cancer, heart disease, infantile paralysis, and other crippling illnesses. A question might be raised whether some of the success of these campaigns is not due to their specific and personal appeal.

¹⁹ Statements concerning labor's attitudes toward voluntary agencies are based upon the section entitled "Labor Participates in Social Work," in the *National Conference of Social Work, 1945*, pp. 220-41; and Bertha C. Reynolds, "Labor and Social Work," in *Social Work Year Book, 1945*, pp. 230-34.

The donor of even a dime may have a sense of personal gratification when he can identify his gift with someone he knows who has been affected by the disease he believes he is helping to prevent.

Funds for the support of social services, then, come from tax funds when public opinion is sufficient to support regular appropriations and depend for adequacy upon the combined federal, state, and local governments in supplying such funds. Voluntary agencies find support from contributions, now well organized through community chests in urban areas and upon appeals for specific purposes. The source of such support seems to be shifting from dependence upon a limited number of large givers to such impersonal sources as corporation gifts and organized union solicitation conducted by the labor organizations rather than by the employers as formerly. The effect which these new sources of support may have upon the management and operation of voluntary agencies, especially the nonsectarian, is a matter for future study.

THE RESPECTIVE ROLES OF GOVERNMENTAL AND VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

The five factors that make for difference between governmental and voluntary agencies offer a guide to the respective roles of these agencies in a total community welfare program. Each has a uniqueness which helps to determine its contribution. In presenting the five factors of difference—philosophy, legal basis, volume and distribution of services, administrative methods, and sources of funds—I have implied the strengths and limitations of each type of agency. It now remains to summarize and point up more sharply their respective roles.

The fact that a governmental welfare program must rest on a sense of social responsibility that is shared by a majority of the population means that governmental agencies develop slowly and at varying rates in different parts of the country. Crises such as depressions and wars hasten changes in social attitudes, a fact which accounts for the rapid growth of the public social services in the United States since 1930. But such changes in attitudes are imperfect and uneven, often lacking a conscious sense of direction. Given public approval, the governmental agency can widely extend known types of services. I believe that we can generalize on the basis of past experience in this and other countries to the extent of assigning these characteristics to the governmental agency:

1. The governmental agency exists by action of a legislative body and is limited in defined purpose, scope, and structure accordingly. The agency cannot deny its services, however, to anyone eligible under the law, and the person in turn can lay claim to the services even to the extent of enforcing the claim in the courts.

2. A governmental welfare service tends to become a social institution in its own right, gradually losing all connotation of a charity. A current example is the categorical public assistance programs for the aged, blind, and dependent children which seem to be moving toward noncontributory social insurance. Eventually public assistance may become merged with social insurance to such an extent that we shall regard them as a public facility like education, maintenance of streets and roads, libraries, protection of persons and property, etc.

3. Because of the universal and comprehensive application of their services, the governmental agencies strive for uniformity of administration and benefits. This, combined with the size of the operation, makes bureaucracy in administration a danger. A high quality of administrative skill is required to mitigate the possibility.

4. Since the governmental agency must rely

upon what the community thinks is necessary and desirable, it may lack a clear mandate as to what is its responsibility. Legislation is often confused and expresses the compromise of competing pressure groups rather than a consistent social philosophy of public service. The social security program in this country is growing piecemeal as it did in Great Britain. Eventually, as in Great Britain, we may try to put the pieces together. The kind of governmental welfare service we develop is dependent upon the economic, political, and social philosophy we hold as a nation. If the latter is confused and conflicting, the welfare services may well be confused and conflicting.

5. Because the governmental agency represents the interests of all citizens, it has power to regulate the operation of the charitable trust which, although privately founded, exists for the general welfare.

The characteristics of the voluntary agency are very different from the governmental agency, and its place in a total community welfare program differs accordingly. Owing to the philosophical or religious premise from which it arises, the voluntary agency represents only a segment of public opinion and is therefore free to develop as its supporters see fit. A distinction has been made that it is "able to formulate and define new ethical standards and to pioneer in the development of ethical and social insights."²⁰ At its best the voluntary agency may be the forerunner of ideas and methods which, when proved, are utilized in new public welfare services for all the people, rather than a few. The sectarian agency, particularly, endeavors to keep alive the sense of individual obligation to one's fellow-man. Relationships to clientele are intimate and personal. The voluntary agency, then, would seem to have these characteristics:

²⁰ Guy V. Aldrich, Hedley S. Dimock, and Roy Sorenson, Commission I, "Critique of Previous Formulations on Public-Private Differentiation and Tentative Reformulation" (Chicago, 1940) (mimeographed), p. 2.

1. The voluntary agency exists by the will of an individual or a group of individuals. Its authority arises out of its founders' awareness of a problem about which they wish to do something. As long as they conduct the enterprise so that it is in the general public interest, the state has traditionally offered protection and prerogatives. The beneficiaries of a voluntary agency have no legal claim upon its services.

2. A voluntary agency has been described as "a minority agency expressing values and stressing need not yet accepted as a responsibility of the whole community."¹¹ The program of the voluntary agency is limited in scope; it can select its constituents. This should enable the agency to be experimental and flexible, to change its program and methods as needs change. It should be a constant source of new social inventiveness. The voluntary agency may suffer, however, from the same lack of philosophy as does the public agency. If the supporters of the voluntary agency resist innovation and desire to hold the status quo, the voluntary agency may actually impede progress.

3. A great contribution of the voluntary agency is in the development of methods that make services effective. Social work as a profession owes much to voluntary agencies whose tempo and resources made experimentation and analysis possible.

4. Since the premise in the Statute of Charitable Uses was that the charitable trust was supplementary to tax funds, it is of utmost importance that the voluntary agency have a clearly defined attitude toward the growth of public social services. If it accepts as one of its primary purposes the finding of new services, the demonstration of which can be assumed by the governmental agency, it will never feel competitive.

5. The voluntary agency can make a great contribution to the established public welfare services if it will continue its interest by safeguarding the quality of administration of the public agency. The voluntary agency can be a critic of bureaucratic tendencies in administration and at the same time interpret the necessity for qualified personnel to prevent such tendencies. Through its constant contact with laymen the voluntary agency can help to develop intelligent public opinion in support of those services which only government has power

and resources to provide as the right of all the people, administered in the best interests of its clientele.

6. If the voluntary agency accepts these responsibilities for pioneering in the development of public opinion in support of governmental welfare services and in the safeguarding of the quality of its administration, it is at once evident that it should not seek subsidies from public funds. To do so is to make its position dependent when it should be independent. Previous studies show that where public funds go, control—rightly—follows. The mingling of public and private funds, on the whole, is not in the interest of either the voluntary or the governmental agency, if each is to perform its role satisfactorily.

A different relationship, however, is involved in the payment from public funds for specific services rendered to individual cases or patients by the voluntary agency. The latter may offer a kind of service not elsewhere provided, and the governmental agency may wish to purchase it for certain persons. Safeguards are needed here also, however, that such arrangements are made by regulation rather than by law under carefully considered policy. In such cases, payment should cover costs for a defined period of time rather than indefinitely.

7. The role of the voluntary agency may change as a result of the shift in the base of financial support. Charitable trusts are declining as a source of support. In a city like Los Angeles one-half of 1 per cent of expenditures in 1946 was from income from endowments. Furthermore, heavy taxation seems likely to affect sources of income for community chests, over a period of time. The introduction of the impersonal corporation gift and the participation of labor in support of voluntary agencies may vitiate the original philosophical tenet of the voluntary agency that it represents a sense of obligation on the part of donors. The use of the foundation to protect private wealth from taxation with no accountability that the funds will be used in the general public interest may eventually lead to increased governmental supervision of voluntary organizations. Since the greatest asset of the voluntary agency is its freedom to pioneer in new directions, it needs to avoid entangling alliances.

Both governmental and voluntary agencies have common problems and responsibilities. Citizen interest in and ac-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

tive contact with social welfare programs is one of the first of these. The voluntary agency because of its derivation has been most keenly aware of the importance of relating the services of the expert to the will of the citizens who support the agency. In other words, the role of the voluntary agency in a community welfare program has been dependent upon the layman's understanding and approval of what the expert service is and means, quite as much as it has been dependent upon his pocket-book. One of the contributions of the voluntary agency has been its preparation of laymen for community service.

The governmental agency because of its size and derivation in law has tended to become self-sufficient. Legislative bodies, always suspicious of the expert in governmental affairs, have frequently provided that boards of citizens shall administer or, more recently, advise the governmental agency. Where the administrative leadership has been farsighted and genuinely expert, such citizen committees have become invaluable in keeping the agency close to public opinion and therefore less likely to become bureaucratic; but where the administrative leadership has been less expert, the citizen committees have been circumvented or ignored. The preference in public administration for the cabinet form of administration in state government, with the one-man executive heading each department, may make for efficient administration, but it crowds out citizen participation. In public welfare administration, where the growth of services is so closely dependent upon the understanding and approval of the voters, the use of citizen advisory committees is of the utmost importance. County welfare boards have been widely developed in the United States with varying degrees of success.

Where the administrator realizes the dependence of his program upon citizen participation in policy-making and knows how to help a group to function effectively, the county welfare board becomes indispensable. Too few administrators have had this skill. Because the public welfare services are an expression of the social and political philosophy of the period, the governmental agency needs citizen participation for their development.

The present is a period of confused and conflicting ideologies. The supporter of the voluntary agency may consider it one of the bulwarks against the growing powers of government in all phases of economic life and may want the agency to stand in the way of expansion of public social services. The sectarian agency may feel no identification with the goals of governmental services. Similarly, legislators and some of their constituents may so greatly fear a comprehensive social security program as a threat to individual initiative and the free enterprise system that they will try to check or even destroy social security legislation. The question "What is for the public welfare?" is not easily answered. Both voluntary and governmental agencies must struggle to work out an answer, however.

The place of the social worker in governmental and voluntary agencies is more readily comprehended. If our assumption is accepted that social work is a professional service with characteristics of its own irrespective of the setting in which it is practiced, then social work may be assumed to be a constant factor in the midst of many variables. The profession has a philosophy—although not all individual social workers have it—and the profession has a method of helping people to make effective use of the institutional arrangements in society. The

quality of this service should be equally high in public and private agencies. It seems to me that we could cut through some of the fog of misunderstanding about what kind of personnel is needed in public welfare agencies if we determined whether or not a particular job—not the whole agency—required the services a social worker can offer. Social insurance, for example, may have need of social workers in certain spots, while some phases of public assistance may not require the services of social workers as it moves toward noncontributory social insurance. I believe that the distinction between social work as a professional service and social welfare as a program that has arisen out of a social problem should help to clarify the place of each. Social workers have sometimes mistakenly tried to take over all the positions in many public welfare agencies and have found themselves bewildered and frustrated—as well as carrying the burden of public blame for what was a program defect.

Since social work as a profession owes much of its growth to the voluntary agencies, this may account for some of the difficulty social workers have had in operating in the big welfare programs. The differences between governmental and voluntary agencies in purpose, size of operation, and ultimate responsibility have probably not been sufficiently rec-

ognized by schools of social work, which still lean heavily upon the voluntary agencies for field-work training of students. To be sure, the core of professional practice is the same in both governmental and voluntary agencies and can be learned in either place provided that the supervisor is a well-oriented professional social worker. But preparation to practice in the governmental agency should probably be given in schools of social work in much the same way that the schools help social workers prepare for practice in the medical setting.

The respective roles of governmental and voluntary agencies in our society are different but complementary. The differences, once acknowledged, illuminate the strengths which each has in its own right. At certain points each supports the other. The relationship between them is never static but is dynamically interrelated and changing. The voluntary agency with its spirit of love of mankind can heighten and keep sensitive the social conscience of the nation. The governmental agency with social justice as its *raison d'être* grows out of the will of a socially conscious America. Together they weave an imperfect but designed pattern of services that undergird democracy.

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THE CLASSROOM TEACHER AS PRACTITIONER¹

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THE aim of professional education is to convey knowledge in such a way that the student may not merely possess it but use it. Furthermore, its aim is to train for tomorrow's practice. From its very nature social work education operates under fast-changing conditions which continuously challenge its content and its processes. It follows, therefore, that students in a school of social work are not to be regarded as so many jugs to be filled with a content that is to be preserved for all time. Instead they must learn to use certain knowledge in an ongoing way. Hence the educator's constant concern is that students develop the emotional as well as the intellectual capacity for remotivation and reintegration since later they experience the impact of a field of work which ever must be oriented to social change.

A profession must have leaders. Hence an aim of professional education is to develop capacity for leadership. In the field of social work with a large membership of untrained practitioners, its professionally educated members long will continue to be conscripted, often prematurely, into administrative, supervisory, and teaching positions. Therefore, social work education to an extent beyond that

in certain other professions must produce people qualified for leadership. It is recognized that patterns for leadership are formed in early family and school life. They, therefore, are brought or not brought into adult education so that selection of students is a matter of decisive import. It is possible, however, to use leadership potentialities so that they are strengthened or to inhibit them in this decisive period when the student is undergoing considerable reorganization of the personality. This paper is concerned with the place of the classroom and more particularly with the practitioner in the classroom in an educational process aimed at developing leaders for tomorrow's practice.

It is important first to consider the student in relation to the general nature of the experience which he will make a part of himself when and if he gives himself to a wholehearted pursuit of a profession. It is recognized, at least in the field of social work, that normally professional education is not merely an intellectual pursuit. It is a vital life experience, one which engages the emotions profoundly.² One's lifework always is serving certain basic purposes in maintaining the equilibrium of the personality. Furthermore, the educational experience represents the individual's preparation for survival in a competitive world. His professional choice involves his concept of himself as an adequate

² For full discussion see *The Emotional Element in Learning in Professional Education for Social Work*, by Charlotte Towle (New York: American Association of Schools of Social Work, 1948). (Pamphlet.)

¹ This paper was delivered at the symposium on "Professional Social Work: Its Substance and World Significance," the last of three symposiums on "The Family in Tomorrow's World," held during the spring of 1948 in observance of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the New York School of Social Work and the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Community Service Society of New York. The Society plans to publish the Anniversary papers in book form in the near future.

adult, a concept which will be a composite of his wishes, strivings, basic aims, often bearing also the imprint of deeply influential relationships. Thus this endeavor may represent a culmination of all that he has been growing toward, at an age when he has not yet found a firm footing in the adult world. There is much at stake emotionally in success or failure in terms of the development of the ego.

By reason of the fact that professional education is a means to achieve maturity, it can be a source of deep gratification, an inspired pursuit. The decisive factor here is that, given intellectual capacity, aptitude for the endeavor, and capacity for growth, the student brings a natural bent for learning, a serious intent to learn as part and parcel of his growth impulses. This frequently enables him to learn in spite of conditions unfavorable for learning. When, however, the latter are overwhelmingly adverse, a profound reaction can be expected, as occurs inevitably when basically growth is obstructed. In these instances the student may deal with the anxiety provoked through projection of responsibility for learning, through marked resistances, and through the formation of defenses against it. In such defenses which represent his struggle for adaptation he resists the change implicit in learning, an experience essential for the development of tensile strength with which to meet staunchly but flexibly the requirements of changing conditions. If conditions are reasonably favorable for learning, the natural urge to learn which the student brings to education for life-work makes for an inspired response which is ever a challenge for the educator to improve content and method. The dynamics for the attainment of our highest aims are here. We have but to

understand them and to orient our educational systems to them. We have but to use in the educational system that basic knowledge and understanding of human behavior which has served the social worker well in helping people make maximum use of their capacities and resources.

Consider some of the demands of a profession which the student experiences during his preparation for practice. A profession is a field of service established to serve the common good rather than for the commonweal of its practitioners. It has a philosophy, an ethical system by which its practitioners are guided to the extent that they are not free agents. There is a recognized body of knowledge and skill to be attained for competent practice, and its members must give evidence of capacity to use it. A profession has a defined scope and function even though it merges with other fields of knowledge and skill. Its practitioners in using borrowed content must not lose identity with their own field. These several characteristics exert notably a multiple demand on the learner; there is small place for self-aggrandizement. There is a high demand for social conscience; there is an enduring demand for subordination of personal self to a larger identity. There is a continuous problem of working within limits and yet remaining free and creative rather than worshipful of those limits. The educable student, therefore, will be one who enters the field with a readiness to grow into carrying the responsibilities of a mature adult; in fact, this educational situation immediately exerts pressure for him to mature rapidly. He must act beyond his years. Furthermore, in social work he must meet the dependency needs of people in trouble, individuals whose years and experience of life's realities are beyond his

years and experience. He must meet the impact of their emotions objectively and helpfully. He must tuck under, against the day when he truly outgrows them, the many biases, prejudices, emotional convictions, which still have great values for him personally. He must seem to feel and to think and to act in ways appropriate to social work, before he can work through his feelings and actually experience basic change. Thus he must repress and deny his own impulses—a demand which may cause considerable tension and anxiety.

The significant conclusions of all this are: The student in this field is having to undergo at rapid tempo basic change in his feeling and thinking under heavy demands frequently at a vulnerable age. In that his lifework is implicated, there is a great deal at stake in making good. Learning involves the fundamental growth process. Hence, there is a larger element of disorganization than in many learning situations, and reorganization that is reintegration occurs at a slower tempo. It seems also that there may be some lag in integration of the various components in learning. Educators in this field note and decry the slowness with which integration occurs. Perhaps we are making an unrealistic demand when we expect a nice integration of content within a two-year period. Perhaps this manifestation is in part a commentary on our present educational schemes. It may be that they have impeded rather than facilitated integration, a question which will be further considered below. It is clear, however, that the integrative function of the ego is being worked at a maximum, so that there are periods when it is functioning below par for given individuals. It is also clear today that sound professional education should help the student keep his

ego intact. The experienced social work practitioner has helped many people under stress, at times of drastic change when some disorganization of the personality is occurring through their very struggle for adaptation. He knows ways of helping individuals to conserve and to use their strengths, ways which with some translation are applicable to the educational situation.

It has been said that, in order to teach arithmetic, a teacher should know not merely arithmetic and sound methods for imparting it but also Johnny and finally himself. Whether or not this is true for instruction in arithmetic, it is eminently true in a profession which engages the total personality in learning as does social work. It is obvious that an instructor cannot know a student intimately as an individual. He can, however, know him as a learner in terms of his response to a particular educational content and in the light of a basic understanding of the ego, its needs, its defenses, its adjustive mechanisms as it operates in the learning process. The latter orientation will give meaning not only to the responses and learning problems of particular students, but it could well throw light on the teacher himself, his teaching methods, his relations to his classes, the soundness for these students of the content conveyed, in short, the nature of the demand which his total instruction exerts. When the faculties of schools of social work, individually and collectively, from this standpoint look intently to see and listen intently to hear what the total education systems which they are administering are doing to students in terms of their maturation for the demands of the profession, then we may learn what will facilitate rather than impede learning in social work, given its nature and stresses. If the stresses are

what I have depicted and if one problem confronting us is that of helping the student maintain an emotional equilibrium so that defenses and the struggle for adjustment may not inhibit or devitalize learning, then it is clear that sound educational practice should be governed continuously by four working principles, basic in social work practice:

1. The instructor meets freely and adequately the valid dependency which the student brings into professional learning. This is the dependency implicit in the teacher-pupil relationship and the dependency inevitable in a situation in which a student begins practice before he knows its what, why, and the how. This implies that the educator should recognize that, even at the level of adult education, the learner has dependence on the teacher for acceptance of his limitations, for understanding of his failures, and for help to become competent, given in accordance with needs which fall within established norms.

2. The instructor uses and affirms the strengths which the student brings. This implies teaching methods which actively engage the student in learning, which place responsibility on him for class preparation, for participation in class discussion, and for seeking help as he needs it. The most basic impulse is the impulse to survive. The need to feel secure, that is, safe, as an assurance of survival is fundamental. Fear emerges quickly when survival is threatened. The impulse to learn is the basic means to survival. Activity in learning eases anxiety and affords security. In the educational situation, the adult will not be satisfied with marginal learning which gives him bare survival in his professional group. He will both need and want to strive for a mastery of knowledge and skills which will make it possible for him

to contribute through leadership. In professional education activity in learning is so important that faculties could well scrutinize their curriculums to determine what proportion is taught didactically.

3. The instructor will avoid making unrealistic demands. He should begin where students normally should be at the start of a course and proceed with an orderly progression from the simple to the complex. The instructor will avoid assignments and examination questions which demand application and integration of knowledge beyond that step or so ahead which stimulates the student to learn on his own. The instructor will avoid imposing his standards of performance and his tempo through leaping from crag to crag. He will realize that in repetitive descending and ascending the student's learning proceeds soundly, by reason of the fact that the simple fundamentals of the bottom lands can well be trod again and again. There inevitably will be certain unavoidable unrealistic demands as often is the case when, for example, classroom content and field experience cannot be nicely timed in terms of pressures or in terms of essential knowledge and skill imparted. At such times a student may need help in bridging the gap. While instructors individually may not violate this principle of "not making unrealistic demands," it is possible for this to occur in the student's total program. The entire regime, composed as frequently it is of several courses, much library work, many written assignments, course examinations, comprehensive examinations, thesis requirements, field work, constitutes an incessant barrage which the student must meet in rigid time limits. When demands are excessive, the student may not have a productive learning period,

and one may note anxiety and defenses, one of which may be temporary regression evidenced in projection of responsibility and increased dependency. In the interest of survival, students will acquire ways of "getting by." They will have had an experience in submission, in pretence, "in seeming to be rather than in being," which is not conducive to the development of professional integrity. This matter of unrealistic demand implied in overcrowded programs is one calling for careful observation and revision if the aims of professional education are to be attained.

4. The instructor will firmly insist on the student meeting the reality demands of his field of instruction. In so far as these demands verge on the unrealistic in terms of constituting a big step ahead for a given student, the instructor will help him to meet them, rather than overlook or waive them. The amount of help that it is realistic to give is sometimes difficult to determine, but always it is important if the student is to accept and incorporate professional discipline.

We have now a picture of the nature of the experience which professional education for social work entails; we have a glimpse of the meaning which this experience commonly has for the student and, I hope, some "feel" for his needs and strivings in this learning process. We have presented briefly the general educational principles by which professional learning may engage adult strivings and facilitate maturation rather than impede it. We come now specifically to the classroom instructor as practitioner.

It is desirable that the educator at whatever level he functions be a *learner as well as a teacher*. This long has been stressed as imperative in professional education; in fact, until recently, it has been one of its distinguishing marks as

differentiated from other forms of education. The concept of being a learner has been contingent upon continued activity in practice and often also in research. It is beyond the scope of this paper to reflect upon the various factors which have made this continuance in practice less habitual in social work education than in certain other professions. It is of interest to note, however, that, in a field in which only a short yesterday all education was conducted within agencies by practitioners, today it is customary for a proportion of the faculty to have withdrawn from practice and to be occupied in "full-time" teaching. There is a general tendency, however, on the part of these same teachers, out of their concern to contribute to their field of practice and out of their need to draw sustenance from it, to participate from the side lines in social work activity. It is common also for the school of social work through its faculty, individually and collectively, to occupy a position of leadership in its social work community—locally, regionally, and sometimes nationally. It would seem therefore that the majority of social work educators are in touch with practice even though not regularly engaged in it. Perhaps it is more important that systematic practice continue in some areas of social work teaching than in others, if the educator is to contribute to the advancement of knowledge rather than merely to keep abreast of its changing content.

Social work is concerned with the education and re-education of individuals and groups. Hence the experienced practitioner has some enduring insights and methods to take into the classroom if he but uses adaptively in this situation what he has learned elsewhere. Certainly, however, it is clear that not all practitioners can teach and that, when a practitioner

does teach, he must extricate himself from a specific job in order to see and to convey the field of instruction beyond the limits set by a particular agency in a given community. Furthermore, he must be something more than or other than a practitioner. He must find himself as a teacher. A teacher, however, must make practice come alive in the classroom. All that he conveys of knowledge and understanding and skill must be oriented to changing practice.

The classroom instructor teaches the what, the how, and the why of his particular field of practice. The learning experience commonly is thought of as being divided into three parts—the classroom, the field of practice, and research. It might be said that in the classroom knowledge and theory are imparted predominantly, whereas in the field, instruction is concerned primarily with their application, that is, with the development of skill.³ It might be said also that in both classroom and field it is only as the student acquires a research attitude of mind, that is, a way of thinking and feeling which is the essence of the research spirit, can he learn to think originally, creatively, independently, and in the process of learning gain a basic competence.

One of the strong arguments for the practitioner in the classroom is that he is skilled. He is not there, however, primarily to teach skills. One of the weaknesses of the instructor who has remained primarily practitioner and has not found himself as a teacher is that he may focus too largely on the "hows of doing." This may result in the teaching of techniques removed from the context of actual prac-

tice. This method fails of its purpose, the development of skill. It fosters working by precedent rather than by principle. The novice will make of techniques a body of well-established procedures or routines to be used in general or in this or that type of situation. As I have said elsewhere, when they are so used they inevitably are misused.⁴ Skill in practice has come to mean the art of dealing properly with specific situations. Within a profession we are drawn back to the early meanings of the word which signified understanding, discernment, differentiation, comprehension, and judiciousness. Professional skill stems from these capacities; hence its development implies a primary emphasis on teaching the content of knowledge which constitutes the substance of the subject and on conveying a body of working principles or general conceptions which constitute the philosophy, the rationale of the profession. It might be said then that the classroom emphasizes the teaching of the philosophy and science of social work whereas the field emphasizes the art of doing in the light of this orientation.

In spite of this differentiation, there is considerable teaching of skill in the classroom. For example, in case-discussion courses the student practices vicariously, so that how to attain certain ends is continuously considered—always, however, in relation to other factors, notably: what is known in this instance and its significance in the light of our general knowledge; why this is done this way in this instance, again in the light of general knowledge and working principles. A decisive element in professional education lies in a continuous focus on the whys of feeling, thinking, and action. If

³ For discussion of what can be taught in the classroom see the paper by Helen Harris Perlman read at the Annual Conference of the American Orthopsychiatry Association, 1948, to be published in *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*.

⁴ See "Underlying Skills of Case Work Today," by Charlotte Towle, *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1941*; also in *Social Service Review*, XV (September, 1941), 456-71.

one were to differentiate the learning on-the-job of apprentice training from the educational method of the professional school, a major difference, I believe, would be this emphasis on the whys of thinking and action. Here again the practitioner in the classroom who is primarily practitioner and only incidentally the teacher may focus on the what and the how of doing, overlooking the whys. This is not because he does not know them but because they have been so incorporated into his skill as to have become unconscious. In his practice he acts judiciously with comprehension and discernment, and he teaches judiciously and discriminating action, but because he no longer needs to figure out the whys he may have given up the articulation of them. This factor, the why, is a decisive component in teaching for it promotes the assimilation of knowledge and method. A student often finds the knowledge and the rationale of procedure quite irrational until he understands why we have come to feel, think, and do this way. Thus confusion and hence anxiety and resistance in learning are lowered or eliminated.

The what, the how, and the why come together in the classroom as one teaches two major areas of learning, which are the very core of content throughout the case-work course series. These are repeated to varying extents through direct presentation and application in other fields of instruction.⁵ These areas are: a way of thinking; a way of feeling and

responding appropriate to social work and essential for an adapted use of the scientific method.

In social work we have come to use the process of scientific inquiry as a diagnostic tool and as a basis for action. In social case work it has been used also as a therapeutic measure, and this function has modified the process. The body of knowledge and theory of which social work is comprised, as well as skill, are involved in the differential use of scientific inquiry so that it truly enlightens and facilitates rather than impedes the furtherance of some definite human good. Social work education is continuously concerned with teaching students to help people meet their needs. The range is from helping an individual meet his own personal needs to helping groups of individuals procure, organize, and administer resources for others in areas of unmet need. In attaining this end, there is always a problem presented for solution. The classroom instructor must insistently teach that we do not work by "guess," and the student must repeatedly experience in classroom and field the orderly way of thinking, the steps in which are as follows: (1) observation and gathering of facts; (2) scrutinizing the facts in the light of certain knowledge; (3) formulation of a tentative hypothesis; (4) testing of the hypothesis through further inquiry and sometimes also through emergent action which has been guided by the initial tentative thinking; (5) formulation of an interpretative or diagnostic statement; (6) action recommended or taken on the basis of the diagnosis which is tested further and revised in accordance with the results of the action; (7) throughout the process a continuous self-appraisal by the worker to discount his own bias.

As the educable student gradually

⁵ See the following articles by Charlotte Towle: "Professional Skill in Administration," *News Letter, American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers*, May, 1940; "Some Basic Principles of Social Research in Social Case Work," *Social Service Review*, XV (March, 1941), 66-80; "Teaching Psychiatry in Social Case Work," *The Family*, XX (February, 1940). See also Helen Harris Perlman, *op. cit.*, and her article "Content in Basic Social Case Work," *Social Service Review*, XXI (March, 1947), 76-84.

masters, that is, begins to incorporate this way of thinking, he becomes increasingly competent to think and to function independently and creatively. Thus through his own "know how," order comes out of confusion, his dependency is lessened, his defenses lowered, and his resistance overcome. Furthermore, in this intellectual discipline he has a means of self-understanding. An intellectual process is set in operation through which feeling may be objectified if the student is not too involved emotionally in a given situation to be free to think.

This method of thinking, once deeply incorporated so that it is ingrained, can serve an experienced practitioner well, even after he has been removed from regular practice and become more teacher than practitioner. In any field of instruction within social work this method in the hands of a teacher with no experience can become an academic exercise and produce abstractions divorced from the reality of social problems, group life, and people. All social work thinking and action comes back in the last analysis to the human individual in and of himself and as he participates in group life. The practitioner-teacher directs this intellectual process within the context of his own firsthand knowledge and understanding of social problems, of community resources, and of human behavior. The social work teacher regardless of his field of instruction needs a more thorough understanding of the dynamics of personality structure and the dynamics of group behavior. A weakness in present-day social work education lies in the fact that faculty members by and large are unevenly educated in this area.

A way of feeling and responding appropriate to social work is taught continuously and insistently in varied ways;

in fact, comprehensive discussion of this area of learning is beyond the scope of this paper. Very early the student encounters the often disturbing reality that some of the prejudices, convictions, ways of thinking about, and ways of doing for and to, people which until now he has cherished and found useful must be modified or scrapped. Furthermore, the demand immediately must be made that he act in ways appropriate to the profession regardless of his feeling. The educable student will bring much from his past that is appropriate and useful to counteract the threat of change. Furthermore, what is not useful will not be serving such a deep purpose nor be so rigidly entrenched that it is not subject to change. Even so, there will be discomfort in this area of learning, and defense of the old way of thinking and feeling may be anticipated. The last-stand defenses before the student gives up the old for the new frequently are strong and fraught with intense feeling.

Educable students are seeking security in this decisive life-venture, and consequently they have all their feelers out to identify with those who have what they lack. Normally they feel out toward these authorities to whom they have entrusted themselves for learning. They move into the relationship with ambivalence but with a predominant tendency toward identification with, rather than rejection of, their mentors. Hence, unless they find in the conduct, attitudes, and response of the instructor something objectionable or something which rebuffs or inhibits identification, they will begin through their emotional acceptance of their faculty, individually and collectively, to take in, and gradually through their own use to incorporate, professional ways of feeling and responding. The practitioner-teacher is reassuring to

them. He knows firsthand the what, the why, and the how. He has survived threatening demands. He brings the "feel" of his practice into the classroom, and the students' response is a lively one unless he is a very poor teacher, one who in the long run cannot help them learn what they need to know in order to gain competence. A classroom teacher removed from practice must have some capacity to keep alive and to continue to envisage realistically the field of practice. Students react apathetically even to the profound thinking and fine teaching of an instructor who has lost touch. There seems to be great variation in the capacity of social work instructors to retain the "feel" of practice.

This appropriate way of feeling will be conveyed didactically and through class discussion of course content in a number of fields of instruction. It will be imparted, as I have indicated, largely through the way of feeling and responding of the instructor to the content and to his class members individually and collectively. Thus, throughout the curriculum in so far as faculty have a positive attitude toward people, students will be prone to develop that attitude. For example: an attitude that a client is eligible until proved ineligible; that a client is competent until proved incompetent; that an agency official is co-operative until proved unco-operative, and that in such an instance the unco-operative response is something to be understood and rectified if possible; that a student's point of view is something for serious consideration and understanding. Hence an unwavering intent to understand is the positive attitude to be enacted in all classroom instruction. We, teacher and students, bend our hearts and our heads to understanding, not as an end in itself

but in order to help, in order to rectify, in order to effect social change.

This is not to say that an instructor does not have and should not reveal negative feeling. Strong feeling both positive and negative is essential for social work. It takes us into this field of endeavor and it endures, hopefully waxing strong with the years to serve as a motivating force for leadership in the attainment of human good. Professional integrity compels righteous indignation over social injustice, deep sympathy with the underprivileged, definite commitment of feeling and of opinion concerning the right and the wrong. Emotionally charged thinking has a place in the classroom. A teacher therefore condemns, passes moral judgments, criticizes, in short, "stands up to be counted" in no uncertain terms. He acts, however, to understand through scientific inquiry and orderly thinking in order to find a solution, or in order to help students face realistically why certain problems at present defy solution. He leads them to find out and to consider what must happen first and to see why we must accept frustration now. Thus frustration may not spell submission to defeat. The leaders of tomorrow, the students today, need help in the acceptance of frustration in order not to become defeatist. To inculcate a will to *understand* rather than to *tolerate* should be the social work educator's insistent aim.

It is the classroom instructor's responsibility to set an example for a way of responding that is truly professional, the very way of responding which he has hopefully demonstrated in his practice. He may teach didactically the necessity for objective evaluation of cause-and-effect relationships but, if he shows con-

demning attitudes, he impedes his own purpose in trying to help the student become objective. Thus he may criticize freely but he may not caricature individuals whether they be clients, students, faculty in other disciplines, board members, or the unenlightened director of a welfare program. Caricature does not develop respect for the human individual. Furthermore it distorts and weakens the intent to understand. If an instructor is sarcastic in his critical evaluation of the part played by a worker in a situation under discussion, or if he ridicules a student's thinking or responds subjectively to the student's response of differing with him, he undermines the student's inclination to become understanding. The will to understand is inculcated and strengthened in so far as students experience understanding in the classroom. Furthermore in participating in the objective evaluation of their own or of someone else's work, students frequently are enabled to take the first step in the development of self-criticism.

A classroom instructor is responsible for the management for productive ends of his relationship to the class as a whole. It should be a working relationship, and hence the instructor must keep the relationship focused on the student's learning purpose in relation to the school's educational goals. It should not become one in which students are absorbed in the instructor per se or the instructor in the students' response to him. In other words, the instructor should not stand between his learning content and the receptive capacity of the student. Studied efforts which place method before content put the self-conscious instructor in the foreground, and no instructor, regardless of how intriguing his method, belongs in the foreground. Like-

wise the instructor whose personal need for recognition leads him in one way or another, whether it be putting on a good show or some other compelling device to win a response to himself rather than to his subject matter, interferes with learning. When this happens, the dependency-authority conflict implicit in the adult learning situation may be intensified so that resistance is aroused. Or the instructor's need may entangle students so that they become identified to the extent of losing their identity. When this occurs, they may "take over" without "taking in." Followers rather than leaders are developed when the emotional pressure of the teacher engenders the dependency, the anxiety, and the confusion which in the long run result when a student's professional orientation merely reflects that of an influential person.

In this whole area of learning a way of feeling and responding appropriate to social work, one would expect the skilled practitioner to bring, to the classroom, discipline in the regulation of his own need to the end of a focus on professional purpose. Capacity for objective management of relationships derived through practice now should serve him. Until, however, he finds himself as a teacher and is secure in his role, he may need reassurance as a person and unconsciously fail to use his skills in this new situation.

Social work always has been practiced under urgent conditions. Social workers have to be men and women of action, making emergent decisions under pressure of changing circumstance, timed by forces beyond their control. It is easy for social workers to come to dread deliberation and to cultivate immediacy. As event follows swiftly on event, they can self-deceptively pretend that every de-

cision was mothered by necessity. Thus every defeat and every stupidity is felt to be well justified. It is essential, therefore, that social work education instill a philosophical frame of mind. This will be done as the curriculum throughout emphasizes working principles, imparts and helps the student to formulate philosophical concepts, stimulates comparative thinking, and conveys historical perspective. Historical perspective is gained only as students are habituated to a historical approach. Historical courses of the narrative type which are little more than the recountal of a series of events will not develop this attitude of mind. Historical courses dynamically presented have an important place. When the present is viewed in the light of its retrospective and continuing connection with major social trends and changing purposes, then the significance of the past comes alive in the present. However, it is as students experience repeatedly the truth that out of hindsight comes foresight that they may habitually look to the past to enlighten the present and the future. Experiencing history's power "to evoke and to solve problems still unstated and unrecognized" can occur again and again throughout different fields of instruction. It may occur as they explore the onset and development of present social problems. The problem may be one in the life of an individual client or it may be one in agency administration or in community attitudes or in the social and economic structure which is creating unmet need. Problems are timeless, and there are repetitive elements in changing conditions so that prior causes and solutions or failures of solution today may be significant for tomorrow. If social welfare leaders of the future are to become less visionary, less escapist, and more judi-

cious under pressure than many of their predecessors have been, their professional education must foster the reflective mind.

In conclusion, I stress the importance in education for social work of a positive relationship between learner and teacher. As I have stated elsewhere, this relationship "should have as its core not only the students' respect for the competence and integrity of the instructor but also trust in his essential friendliness. . . . A learner who regards those from whom he must learn as being against him rather than for him will be more prone to submit than free to engage actively and responsibly in learning."⁶ For a relationship conducive to learning, it is essential that the educator continuously aim to meet valid dependency adequately, to affirm the student's potentials and use his strengths, to avoid making unrealistic demands, and, finally, to hold the student accountable and to help him meet the reality demands of the educational situation. These principles basic to social work practice should guide him in the educational situation, in the selection of the content, in methods used, and in relationships proffered.

At present the educator's contribution to the advancement of knowledge in some areas of social work is limited by his removal from systematic practice and also from research. Through prodigious effort to keep in touch, he may keep abreast of changing content. He is, however, in the position of imparting and integrating the observations of others. His creative contribution largely is that of preparing students to go beyond him in the advancement of knowledge. Certain exigencies in the social work scene

⁶ Charlotte Towle, *The Emotional Element in Learning in Professional Education for Social Work* (New York: American Association of Schools of Social Work, 1948). (Pamphlet.)

have dictated that the social work educator is more teacher than learner. This constitutes a problem for future solution if social work is to become less dependent on related fields of knowledge.

It is important that on becoming a teacher the social worker not abandon as irrelevant those basic insights and skills which have served him in helping people. As a social worker he has been concerned continuously with individual difference and personality growth. Learning and growth are synonymous. As a social worker he has been engaged in the education and re-education of individuals and groups. All classroom instruction goes back in the last analysis to

the learner as an individual in and of himself and as he participates in the group learning process. The social work educator has an advantage in that he can direct this intellectual process within the context of disciplined knowledge and understanding of human behavior. As he consciously transfers his professional learning to professional education, he might well make a creative contribution to professional education in general. This is the challenge of today for tomorrow, to create conditions under which the natural urge to learn, the inspired response which characterizes the students preparing for lifework, may find full expression.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MAINTAINING FOSTER-HOMES THROUGH CASE-WORK SKILLS¹

DRAZA KLINE AND HELEN MARY OVERSTREET

SINCE all children who come to an agency for placement are already injured to some extent by separation from their families, it is of primary importance that they be protected from further injury through unnecessary re-placements. It is well known that children require secure, uninterrupted affectional relationships with parents or parent substitutes if they are to achieve healthy emotional development. Separation is a trauma to the child, and each move damages him further in his capacity to make satisfying human relationships. The results are seen in serious personality disturbances which often are not amenable to treatment. The failure of a foster-home, then, must raise serious questions in our minds about our knowledge and skill in foster-home care and must give impetus to seeking the ways to hold a home for the good of the child. In considering this, the discussion will consider, first, four general observations which have emerged from the work of our agency with foster-parents, and then, through the use of excerpts from one case record, case-work skills which we believe have general application will be discussed. The emphasis will be on the skills used in developing a foster-home to meet the needs of a specific child and in safeguarding the child against the loss of the home.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The first requirement for holding a home is choosing the right home in the

beginning. To do this, it is necessary to understand the child; with the resources of psychiatrist, psychologist, medical clinic, and study home to use as needed, the chances of obtaining a sufficiently full picture to guide us in our planning are greatly enhanced. An effort is then made to select the right foster-home in the light of understanding the foster-parents, their motivations, their capacity to meet the child's needs, and their ability to work with the agency. Through the initial study a limited picture of the family is gained and clues to real or potential weaknesses and strengths. This is used as a guide in making a tentative plan, but we have found that it is through the pre-placement interviews with foster-parents, related to a specific child, that a sufficiently full picture of the personalities of the foster-parents is available with their attitudes toward individual problems to enable us to confirm or reject the plan. As in all case-work situations diagnosis and evaluation of both child and foster-parents is a continuous process, serving at the outset to help to select the right home for the child and later guiding the treatment plan and determining the case-work skills to be used to maintain the placement.

That foster-parents can use the services of the case worker has been implied. Our second general observation is that foster-parents vary in their need for, and ability to use, such service. There are situations in which the child's needs do not exceed the intuitiveness of the foster-parents, and the family achieves healthy, satisfying interrelationships with a mini-

¹ A paper given at the National Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City, April, 1948.

imum of service from the agency once the placement has been stabilized. Other foster-parents need, but cannot use, case-work services. In these instances the case worker's skill lies in her ability to make such an evaluation and then to exert special care to place only a child who fits into the home, as it is, since the foster-parents cannot be expected to change. Our most enriching experience in learning skills that have a wide application has come from our work with a third group—the educable foster-parents who make homes for disturbed children needing special understanding and care. It is apparent that kindness and warmth must be supplemented by knowledge and skill if the child is to have the environmental treatment he needs. Few foster-parents have the training to qualify them for the taxing job of caring for such children. There is no reason why the most adequate foster-parent should expect himself, or be expected by us, to do this job without help from a specialist. The case worker can provide this help by virtue of her general knowledge of the development of children, her specific knowledge and understanding of the individual child and his needs, and her ability to adapt case-work skills to the learning-patterns of the foster-parents as they relate to the child.

Our third observation is that foster-parents can accept and use such help only within the framework of a positive relationship with the case worker. Although this is a basic case-work principle, we are often unclear about the nature of the relationship and the application of case-work skills to an educational process. In our work with foster-parents the interviewing situation is predominantly an educational experience rather than a therapeutic one. Since this lack of clarity interferes with the development of the re-

lationship, we have tried to identify some of the factors that contribute to this. One is the tendency of foster-parents to establish the interviews in a "social" atmosphere. By this we mean serving tea or introducing other of the social amenities with which child welfare workers are familiar. The relatively inexperienced worker is often puzzled or anxious about this. It is helpful to recognize that the relationship between foster-parent and case worker is founded on the basis of mutual service to a child, and the goal of the interviews is to achieve this service. The social atmosphere is a natural part of the situation and has positive value to the foster-parents since this represents their own social customs. The objective, then, is to learn to use techniques for directing the interviews into productive channels within this social situation.

Another factor that tends to interfere with the case worker's application of skills is her identification with the child. This may arise naturally from the fact that the agency's function is to care for the child and that the case worker's goal is to promote and safeguard his well-being. This concern for the child at times leads to an urgency on our part to see that the child's needs are met and makes us less willing to accept the foster-parents' feelings, less objective in evaluating them, and less skilful in meeting them than would be true in the worker-client relationship. To be of positive value to the child, we need to become adept at meeting the feelings of the foster-parents and learning to understand when they are psychologically ready to learn.

A third factor which may complicate the relationship between worker and foster-parent is the assignment as a "supervising worker" whose traditional function has been to "check up" on the care given the child and who possesses

authority to continue or to terminate the placement. There is a potential threat to foster-parents inherent in this concept of the worker's role. However, this may reflect a partial—and inaccurate—concept of the worker's function. If the agency sees the worker's role as that of helping families develop their potentialities for being adequate foster-parents, this can be conveyed, partly through verbal definition, but chiefly through the way in which the worker uses herself. The worker initially establishes her relationship with foster-parents on the basis of recognition of their competence; she can maintain this relationship through her continued cognizance of the positive values of the foster-home and through making herself a noncritical, helpful person in relation to weaknesses, to enable foster-parents to take suggestions without feeling criticized.

Our final general observation is to emphasize our conviction that the preplacement preparation of foster-parents to receive a child plays an essential role in determining the success of the placement. In addition to giving us valuable information about the family, these interviews serve to orient the foster-parents to the job they are undertaking and to give them and the agency an opportunity to withdraw from the plan without subjecting the child to another rejection. The number of such interviews is decided by the needs of the case, but we have found that they vary usually from two to four. The content may include a detailed picture of the child, his needs, essential facts about his past experience, and perspective of his future development. Emphasis will vary in relation to differences in age, sex, physical and emotional development, and family ties.

When a child has problems, information about this background and simple,

generalized interpretation of the experiences which cause the symptomatic behavior are given to bring the beginning of an understanding of the child and a sympathetic attitude toward him and to stimulate foster-parents to initiate questions about "handling." Anticipating problems and describing the child's usual patterns of behavior serve to cushion the reactions of the foster-parents when problems arise. Sharing this information at the outset makes the foster-parents aware that they alone are not responsible for deviant behavior when it appears and tends to free them from the need to conceal and struggle with the problems alone. This makes it possible for case worker and foster-parents, together, to find appropriate ways of handling the problems before they assume serious proportions. Through these early interviews the worker establishes herself as the person who will share responsibility for the child and lays the foundation for her future working relationship.

ILLUSTRATIVE CASE

Excerpts from the case of Lucy have been selected to illustrate some of the foregoing observations but, primarily, to point out the case-work skills which were used in developing Lucy's present foster-home. This case was selected because both the child and the foster-mother presented problems that are common to many cases in a child-placing agency, and the skills used are generally applicable to work with foster-parents. In addition, the case illustrates clearly the damaging effects of replacement. We know that all children react with hostility to the rejection inherent in being moved, and this hostility comes out in some kind of symptom formation. We will see that Lucy's symptoms were largely the result of a series of replace-

ments. She had been under the care of the agency since infancy, and, although her need for special care was repeatedly noted, this was not available because of the lack of adequate resources and skill. When she was thirteen, her serious symptoms made it clear that, unless she was given help promptly, the prognosis would be hopeless. At this time every effort was made to provide a specialized service. The case has had the benefit of careful planning through psychiatric consultation and close supervision, and the interviews have been recorded in sufficient detail to permit analysis of the interaction between the worker and the foster-mother.

Sketch of Lucy.—Lucy, a fifteen-year-old Negro girl, has lived in her present foster-home for the past year. She is of low average intelligence and is a Freshman in high school. She was illegitimate, and at the age of eighteen months she was placed in a nursery and then deserted by the mother. She experienced six foster-home placements before she was ten years old. Several placements were terminated because of her unacceptable behavior, one by the foster-mother's jealousy of the foster-father's attachment to the child, and one by the death of a foster-mother. Owing to insecurity in her placements, lack of continuity of experiences, and careless training, she gradually developed a number of symptoms. At thirteen these included inability to relate to people, stealing, hiding her soiled clothing, excessive eating, soiling, and diurnal and nocturnal enuresis. She was impulsive in all areas, biological, oral, motor, and social. Among other causes, the soiling and wetting continued as a means of expressing her anger at the persons who rejected her, and she used the symptoms to spite foster-parents when she suffered a real or fancied rejection.

Her symptoms took this form because of inconsistent managing; she had never learned to control her impulses and, when angry, did something that was mean. The meanest thing she could do was to wet and soil. Her lack of satisfaction in relationships with people except for the hostile element caused her to withdraw from reality into fantasy for pleasurable experiences, so that she was often passive and withdrawn and seemed out of rapport with reality situations. The stealing and excessive eating, in this case, were found to be manifestations of her attempt to overcome the deprivations she had suffered. Hiding soiled clothing was a simple technique for avoiding unpleasant tasks. Treatment with a case worker was instituted at this time, under the direction of the agency's psychiatric consultant.² This was in progress for a year and a half before the present placement. Essential throughout the treatment was the maintenance by the worker of a giving, consistent relationship. Within this framework case-work treatment was focused on ego-training with constant attack on reality orientation. At the point of her present placement the child had given up her symptoms of withdrawal, showed a greatly increased capacity for relationships, and presented a true picture of an impulsive child, who needed education and training in all areas.

Child's needs.—Lucy needed foster-parents who would accept her with her symptoms and protect her from impulsiveness through kind, consistent firmness and reliable restrictions on her behavior. She needed, too, the kind of help to grow up that is typically indi-

² Case worker, Mrs. Willa Murdock; supervisor, Mrs. Marjorie Ferguson; psychiatric consultant, Dr. Margaret Gerard—all of the staff of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Chicago.

cated for the child of three or four, but qualified by recognition of her adolescent interests which require freedom within a safe framework. Understanding of this child and use of appropriate techniques for helping her could be achieved only by a foster-mother who could accept and use the guidance of a case worker. Two workers were assigned because it was thought that Lucy's relationship with her worker would be disturbed if the same worker also saw the foster-mother.³

It was anticipated that Lucy's soiling and failure to care for her soiled clothing and her enuresis and carelessness about her bedding would be a source of disgust to most foster-parents; her language and free conversation about sex would be shocking; her provocativeness and disobedience would bring reactive hostility; little satisfaction would be gained from a relationship with her. At the same time, her attractive appearance and good-humored joking made her likable, and her capacity to change and make progress, which had already been demonstrated, offered a challenge which might appeal to the type of foster-mother who would get enough gratification from achievement to help compensate for the lack of other satisfactions.

Foster-home.—The foster-home selected consisted of foster-parents in their early fifties and a son of twenty-three, who was engaged to be married. The foster-father was good-natured, jolly, and interested in the placement. The foster-mother was attractive, seemed warm and motherly and alert. The family was active in cultural affairs in the community and church. They lived an orderly life according to reasonable routines, but the foster-mother could be

flexible when there was reason. Her history indicated that she had had a too strict father and a fault-finding mother; she had lived in a foster-home while attending school because her father's work made it necessary for him to travel. She identified somewhat with the problems of the agency children and seemed to want to offer a child a corrective experience on the basis of identification. In her struggle for a college education, consciousness of her position in the community, and pride in the achievements of her sisters, there could be seen a strong achievement drive and need for status. Additional motives for seeking a foster-child were a wish for companionship and a need for financial supplementation to help make payments on the home to which her son had previously contributed.

The foster-mother's interest in children, her ability to make rules, her flexibility, and her wish to understand the problems of children indicated that Lucy's treatment might progress in this home. There were several recognized dangers: the foster-mother might have a feeling of rivalry with her worker, whose knowledge and professional status could stimulate the feelings of inferiority which lay underneath her need for prestige, and she might be envious of Lucy's worker, who would possess the child's confidences. Her wish for companionship might be frustrated by Lucy's social interests, and she might be threatened by misbehavior if it affected her status in the community. Gratification would have to come from (1) pride in achievement as progress was made; (2) the support and encouragement of the worker as her role was recognized as an important one; and (3) financial compensation in so far as this was possible.

Preplacement interviews.—The pre-

³ Case worker for foster-home, Mrs. Mildred Wiggins, of the staff of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Chicago.

placement preparation of the foster-parents follows:

Once the family's interest in Lucy had been established by the home-finding worker, Lucy's worker visited to explore further. The foster-mother was taken into the worker's confidence and given a complete picture of the child's background, her symptoms, and her needs. The foster-mother responded with sympathetic comments which hinted at identification with Lucy. She was told that this undertaking would require a good deal of investment from the foster-parents and special handling of problems which the foster-mother would want to talk over with her own worker, who would be assigned to give this service. To forestall possible fear of failure, it was explained that if there were failures, it would not reflect on foster-parents but would reflect that they had undertaken a difficult job. The worker made clear that some of the symptoms might not appear at first, might never appear, or might be worse during the first few weeks than is ordinarily so. After knowing the nature of Lucy's problems, the foster-family was interested in moving ahead. They were cautioned to explore this fully with their own worker before reaching a final decision.

In the first interview with the worker who had no direct contact with Lucy, the foster-mother was able to bring out her real concerns and to reveal her reactions. She confided she had been "taken off her feet" when told about Lucy's soiling and inability to care for her own clothing. With the worker's acceptance and encouragement she questioned the previous statements that she should not expect the child to wash her own garments. The worker agreed with her that it was strange behavior and hard to understand. She thought that if they talked about the reasons, the foster-mother might understand it better and see that Lucy, too, was unhappy about it. Her lack of consistent care and training when a child was elaborated. It was pointed out that, although she had grown physically, she was in many ways a small child.

As the foster-mother followed the explanation, she asked questions about previous foster-homes. The worker was cautious not to depreciate them, gave the realistic reasons why they had broken up, and emphasized the wish to place Lucy in a home such as the foster-mother's, where, by working together, the foster-mother and the worker could find out how best to

help Lucy. The foster-mother told of having sought information about the causes of children's behavior when she was puzzled by her son when he was small. The worker stressed the professional nature of such an undertaking and the ways in which the foster-mother's qualifications would help. The foster-mother responded by discussion of the handling of soiling. She volunteered that adolescents do not like to do chores unless they have help or are interested in them. The worker agreed and thought it might be helpful if the foster-mother could suggest that they go to the basement together to rinse the clothing, thus giving her companionship and teaching her at the same time. The foster-mother participated by giving concrete illustrations of how this might be done.

Here we see the importance of meeting the feelings of the foster-parent before offering information or advice. The worker accepted the foster-mother's shocked reactions before attempting to help her understand the reasons for the soiling, thus enabling her to move ahead. Advice was given after the foster-mother understood and indicated some acceptance of the symptoms and was psychologically ready for it. The worker utilized her knowledge of the foster-mother's character by appealing to her wish to "do a professional job." By guarding against criticism of previous foster-parents, she helped to establish herself as an accepting, noncritical person. In this interview the worker established the foundation for a positive working relationship and defined her role as a helping person.

In the next interview the foster-mother talked with increasing freedom. She referred to earlier conversations about Lucy's association with sexually delinquent girls and expressed concern about foster-parents' responsibility for adolescent girls who "get in trouble." The worker was sympathetic with this concern, acknowledged the reality of it, and said this would be no reflection on the foster-parents. As the foster-mother was

reassured, she discussed the protection that could be given Lucy. She asked for help in determining what were reasonable hours and suggested that she would encourage Lucy to bring her boy friends home.

It is common for foster-parents to be concerned about their responsibility for a child of any age who may get into serious trouble in the community, and often they are relieved when absolved of blame and when the agency clearly shares responsibility. Here, when the foster-mother's anxiety about her responsibility was relieved, she was able to consider constructive techniques for protecting the child from her impulses.

Later in the interview the foster-mother indirectly questioned Lucy's continuing interviews with her worker. She implied that she was fearful of losing the opportunity to enjoy Lucy's confidence and that her faults might be exposed through the child's reports to the worker. It was explained that the foster-home care was the major part of helping Lucy. Only the foster-mother could give the child a home, affection, and retraining. The case worker for one hour each week would try to help overcome her distrust of adults which arose from her early experiences. This was necessary in order to make her better able to enjoy the relationship which the foster-parents could offer. It was explained that workers learn to evaluate children's reports of their homes, and the foster-mother need not fear criticism of her handling of Lucy; mistakes by case workers and by a foster-mother were inevitable, as Lucy was a trying child. At the end of the hour the foster-mother was eager to meet Lucy, and a visit was arranged.

The foster-mother's envy of Lucy's worker and fear of criticism had been anticipated, partly because of hints

about her character seen at the outset and partly because these are common reactions in foster-parents whose children are in treatment. Minimizing the importance of the worker as compared to the foster-mother decreased her envy, and recognizing the inevitability of mistakes decreased her fear of exposure. Most foster-parents need to understand that workers do not take a child's complaints at face value.

In the third interview the foster-mother spoke warmly of Lucy's visit, saying the family liked her and were eager to have her live with them. Her shyness reminded her of her own childhood fear of strangers and the necessity of readjusting to strange communities as her family moved about the country. As she became absorbed in her reminiscences, the worker directed the interview back to Lucy by commenting gently that these experiences would help her to understand Lucy in a special way—for instance, she would see why it would be hard for Lucy to give up her friends in the old neighborhood all at once. The foster-mother responded that it might be some time before Lucy would want to change from her old church to the family church, where much of the social life centered.

The worker then showed the foster-mother rubber sheeting she had purchased. (This had been discussed in a previous interview.) She commented that wetting was a nuisance and that we should find easy ways of coping with it. She suggested that, if the foster-mother would like to send the sheets out to the laundry, the agency would pay for this. The foster-mother was pleased and said that it would be easy in this way to help Lucy as she would only have to ask her to remove the sheets from her bed.

The worker prepared her for the be-

gining period of readjustment, which would hold problems for Lucy and for the foster-mother. She added that, together, the worker and the foster-mother would try to find effective ways of resolving the problems. She offered to visit weekly. The foster-mother was eager to have her visits continue. She was encouraged to telephone between visits if she wished.

The foster-mother's tendency to reminisce held in it certain recognized dangers. She seemed to have strong dependent needs and could easily use the interviews for personal reminiscences unrelated to the child unless safeguards were observed. The worker did not cut off the confidences abruptly, but neither did she explore them further. She set a pattern for the interviews by directing the foster-mother's recollections toward enhancing her understanding of Lucy, thus appropriately focusing the interview.

Rubber sheeting supplied by the worker for enuretic children is a useful technique to spare the foster-mother extra effort in connection with a problem which inevitably is a nuisance and may create hostility to the child. It provides a natural opportunity for discussion of the handling of enuresis, at a point at which the foster-mother is accessible, since the worker is in the role of giving concrete help. Reimbursement for laundry or bedding is especially important in cases where the foster-parents are partially motivated by financial considerations.

By the end of the last preplacement interview, the foster-mother was aware that the worker could help her understand Lucy and find constructive ways of handling her problems; she had had the experience of finding the worker a helpful, noncritical, supportive person. The worker had established herself as the person who would share responsibility for

the child and to whom the foster-mother could turn for help at any time.

Postplacement interviews.—Following the placement, it was found that the family accepted and liked the child from the outset. She, in turn, attempted to please them in many ways. Her symptoms were about as expected with the exception of day wetting and soiling, which did not appear at any time; nocturnal enuresis was sporadic at first.

The interviews centered about daily occurrences, with the foster-mother bringing out specific problems for help. She was troubled about Lucy's staying out at night and did not know how far she should go in being firm about hours; she implied that she was afraid the child would not like her. The worker then gave active help in working out a schedule of hours and supported the foster-mother in holding to this unless there was a good reason for an exception, pointing out that firmness was good for Lucy; it would protect her from the results of late hours, and her feeling of security with the foster-family would increase because all impulsive children feel the need for guidance from a loved person.

Here the importance of early and regular visiting by the worker is illustrated. We see the foster-mother, out of her need to win the child's love, vacillating about restrictions which were essential to Lucy's welfare. Had she been dealt with inconsistently in this matter, the problem would have grown into a serious one which might have jeopardized the placement. With the help of the worker the foster-mother was able to be firm, to set regulations, and to help Lucy comply with them. This did not appear again as a problem, although it came up for discussion in subsequent interviews.

After about a month Lucy made her first comments about sex. The foster-

mother confided that Lucy's language had shocked her. The worker said that she was probably testing the foster-mother to see whether she would like her when she spoke this way, and the worker pointed out that this was the reason she had told the foster-mother at the outset that Lucy would reveal shocking information. The foster-mother responded, saying: "The agency workers certainly know their work."

Here we note what is a very common mistake. The worker did not permit the foster-mother to air her reactions to the behavior; she interpreted the possible reasons for it and implied that the foster-mother should have been prepared since it had been anticipated with her. The foster-mother's praise of the agency workers at this point was a hostile comment growing out of the feelings of frustration and inferiority that had been stimulated. It was then necessary for the worker to restore the foster-mother's sense of adequacy, which she did, and later she enabled her to discuss anxieties connected with her own experiences in receiving sex information and to ask for help in knowing how to answer Lucy's questions.

At times through the months the foster-mother was discouraged by Lucy's lack of responsiveness. In one instance, when the foster-mother expressed an interest in her, Lucy shrugged it off, saying: "All foster-mothers look alike to me." The foster-mother commented to the worker. "I swallowed hard and tried to remember all the things you had told me."

At these times the foster-mother relied solely on the worker's support to carry her through discouraging periods. Her deeply rooted sensitivity to rejection made Lucy's indifference more difficult to accept than misbehavior. In this area,

anticipation of the child's attitudes and understanding of the causes at the outset were essential to cushion the blow when it came. At other times, when discouragement arose over enuresis or other symptoms, the worker used the technique of reviewing with the foster-mother the gains that had been made since placement, thus giving her some satisfaction in achievement and motivating her toward future efforts.

After the worker had been visiting in the foster-home for about six months, it was noted that the foster-mother's skill with the child had increased markedly. In connection with teaching Lucy how to behave when visiting in other homes, she told her that she was nice looking and likable and that she did not need to clown in order to be liked. As she praised her for desirable qualities, the clowning subsided. From this the foster-mother generalized that she now placed the emphasis on how Lucy's behavior would affect Lucy. She felt it was better than making herself the one to be pleased. She said she learned this approach from her talks with the worker and it worked with her husband, too.

In this comment is a tribute to both the foster-mother and the case worker. It implies that the foster-mother was educable and that the case worker had mastered the skills most essential in making it possible for a foster-mother to learn.

CONCLUSION

This case illustrates how foster-parents learn to give care to a child, and it shows that the learning process takes place within the framework of a positive relationship to the worker, as is characteristic of educational situations. To maintain this relationship the case worker must be sensitive and alert at all times

to negative feelings which enter the relationship, and skillful in dissipating them when they arise. The foster-mother learned after her feelings were met with acceptance, and she learned in relation to specific problems as she discussed them.

At the outset we knew that this child could not meet the needs of the foster-mother fully, but, through the worker's recognition and help and the child's progress, they were met partially. At points of discouragement the worker recaptured for the foster-mother the progress made by the child, enabling her to see it in perspective; thus her need for achievement was met, and her incentive for continuing was sharpened. Throughout, the techniques and skills used were

determined by the case worker's understanding of the basic motivations and needs of the foster-mother and the needs of the child.

We want to emphasize that this kind of work with foster-parents requires infinite patience, self-awareness, and self-discipline; continuous, careful analysis of the feelings that govern the interaction in the foster-home; skill in meeting the feelings that are aroused; and knowledge that aids in resolving problems related to the child. This is a demanding and tedious job; compensation lies in achieving a constructive foster-home for a troubled child and in making possible the development of a well-adjusted citizen rather than a social misfit.

ILLINOIS CHILDREN'S HOME AND AID SOCIETY

DISCUSSION BY INEZ M. BAKER

Miss Kline has given us a thoughtful presentation of case-work skills involved in working with foster-parents and a challenge for developing homes for those children who are subject to repeated replacements. These skills which have been so well illustrated are applicable to all foster-parents.

Perhaps the setting, in the case of Lucy, is somewhat atypical of the average child in the average children's agency. It is atypical in the concentrated investment of agency time and skill and also in the absence of the all-important factor of "own parents." It would seem to me that the general use of two workers, one for the foster-parents and one for the child, might introduce supervisory and administrative problems. However, Lucy's foster-home was used in response to an agency need. All children's agencies are familiar with this need. These children are costly to the agency and society irrespective of whether or not they receive a corrective experience.

An analysis of a group of foster-homes used in this way would be of real interest and value. It would be of value to know whether foster-parents can find satisfactions over a period of

years and to know the degree of carry-over observed from one child to another. Certainly every effort needs to be made to find and to develop foster-families who can learn to care for difficult children and who can find sufficient satisfaction in the "doing" to continue the job. Furthermore, the skills involved in the development of homes for these children have general applicability for all foster-parents.

I should like to comment, first, on several "trouble" areas where foster-parents are concerned and, second, to consider briefly the nature of the job of foster-parenthood. To mention only three areas in which many foster-parents have trouble, we might well include the difficulties they experience (1) in relation to "own" parents, (2) in giving up children, and (3) in wishing to assume responsibilities which are not theirs to assume.

These and other problems which foster-parents face, in varying degrees, are inherent in the nature of foster-care. They are inherent because of the delegated and shared responsibility which foster-parents and the agency must assume. Good parents may not necessarily be good foster-parents. Foster-parenthood is

different from parenthood, and in the points of difference we usually find the trouble areas. We find trouble in those things which a natural parent may do but which a foster-parent cannot do and in those things which a foster-parent must do that a natural parent does not do. In brief, foster-parents have the day-by-day responsibility for the child's care and the decisions that go into it. The agency or parents retain the responsibility to make life-plans for the child and to terminate the placement. Foster-parents may not change the child's name or religion, and they may not possess him completely. They may not carry the relationship with the child's own parents, but they must co-operate, for example, in plans for parental visiting.

First, what are some of the common difficulties foster-parents experience in relation to "own parents"? Parental visiting is high on the list. Some foster-parents react by denying the relationships of the parents to their children; others wish to assume the role of counselor to the own parents. Some have difficulty in accepting the loyalties which children have for their own parents. They find the lack of gratitude on the part of own parents "hard to take." They fear criticism and try in dozens of ways to prove that they are good parents. How can we support and help foster-parents to face and handle their feelings about own parents?

And, second, there is the problem of giving up children. We ask foster-parents to treat children as their own, but they cannot be their own. I would venture a guess that more foster-homes for young children have been lost because of the painful experience of having to give up a child than for any other one reason. We have seen foster-parents handle their frustrations about giving up children in every conceivable way from denying all agreements with the agency and seeking legal action to resorting to tears and pleadings in their distress. The more mature respect their agreements but withdraw from the role of foster-parenthood lest they be hurt again. Yet giving up children is inherent in the job of foster-parenthood. Do we not need to talk about this part of being a foster-parent from the time an applicant comes to our doors and to continue doing so throughout their experience with us? For some applicants the distress is too great, and the agency has a responsibility to protect them from their own requests. However, there are many whom we can help to find other satisfactions. One way

they can find satisfaction is in feeling that they are a part of the agency and that their contributions continue from one child to another. We find the techniques outlined by Miss Kline applicable in recognizing the concerns of foster-parents and meeting them with reality and in emphasizing the constructive nature of their efforts.

The third difficulty mentioned—namely, a wish to assume a responsibility which is not for the foster-parents to assume—runs through most of the specific difficulties we might mention. In the extreme we find foster-parents trying to adopt children whom they have accepted on a boarding agreement. We find it in their wish to enter children in school in their name; we find it in their efforts to take over the role of working with parents. The form may vary from discouraging parental visiting entirely to assuming a parental role with own parents. We find it in religion, allowances, clothing, and in accepting board for the child's care.

The foster-parent's job is a hard one. It is different from the job of own parents. Few applicants know much of what the differences are. They usually see caring for agency children as a continuation of satisfactions they have known or the fulfilment of those they hope to know. But the ability to care for children does not necessarily qualify a family to care for agency children. Is it not one of the first and continuing responsibilities of the worker to help foster-parents understand their role? What are those things expected of them, and what are those things they may not do in caring for children in co-operation with an agency? How do they feel about these areas in which many foster-parents have trouble? We need to support and help foster-parents in facing and handling their feelings about the problems involved in foster-care. If we know the areas in which difficulties often occur, do we not need to talk about these areas during the foster-home study, before children are placed, and thereafter be continuously aware of pending difficulties?

I should like to illustrate some of the common difficulties in the case of Mrs. Brent. The story of Mrs. Brent is typical of a few cases in the files of most children's agencies. It is the story that every agency *hopes* will never again come to light. Mrs. Brent had cared for agency children before there was a formulated placement program. Children had been suddenly removed from her home without preparation or

discussion on the basis of a complaint of neglect following the untimely death of her husband. Later Mrs. Brent remarried, reapplied for an opportunity to board children, and was approved. She gave excellent physical care to a child and had extraordinary ability with troubled children in the latency and early adolescent period. However, it has been difficult for her to accept some aspects of the role of foster-parenthood. She wished, for example, to make arrangements with parents for visiting, and it was difficult for her to give up children unless they were returning to what *she* considered "deserving parents." A baby was placed in the home on a temporary basis. The agency was unable to help the mother either to make long-time plans or to relinquish the baby. When the baby was returned to the mother, Mrs. Brent stepped in as previously arranged and accepted the baby from the mother on an independent basis. The baby's case worker was not the regular worker for the home. The following are excerpts from an interview with the regular worker following the foregoing episode.

Mrs. Brent met the worker at the door with: "It's about time you talked with me about this whole mess. What do you intend to do?" The worker replied that what the agency did would depend entirely upon her. Mrs. Brent launched upon a lengthy dissertation about her anger with the agency, how unfairly she and Danny's mother were treated, the things she did for children and never charged the agency, how her Christmas had been spoiled, how the agency moved the children she wanted to keep and never the ones she asked to have moved. She went back to her previous experience with the agency and finally said that she was going to keep Danny no matter what and we could not stop her. She stopped and looked at the worker in a questioning and defiant way.

The worker said she would not defend the agency or try to change Mrs. Brent's mind. And, further, the worker pointed out that the agency was pleased with the care that had been given to children in the Brent home. The worker then reviewed Mrs. Brent's good work with most of her foster-children, mentioning her outstanding success with one pre-adolescent child, but said that she had made slow, if any, progress in trusting in the agency. For example, when difficulties arose she always went back to the last time she cared for one of our children. Since acknowledgment of the agency's mistakes had not helped her feelings, the worker wondered whether there were factors we did not understand. Mrs. Brent said defensively that none of them had enough to eat then, herself, her children, and ours. We had not even looked into this. The worker agreed that that was part of our mistake and hoped

that it would not be repeated. The worker said that this had happened years ago; that we have made improvements but must keep moving ahead; that some people cannot get over old experiences which hurt and that, if Mrs. Brent could not get over her unfortunate experience to the extent that we could work together with confidence and share responsibility, she would never be happy in her position as foster-mother for the agency. Mrs. Brent replied, "But I trust you, you've always been frank with me." The worker explained that she was a part of the agency; that she did not pay the board, hold the custody of the children, or make the policies; that both foster-parents and workers have specific responsibility; and that they can neither do their part nor work together unless they can trust the agency.

Mrs. Brent was then able to enter into a detailed discussion regarding the division of responsibility in so far as baby Danny was concerned. Mrs. Brent brought out her feelings about giving up children. She had felt the agency was asking her to do something she just could not do. She had never thought before of how the responsibility had to be divided between the foster-mother and the worker; otherwise, things got awfully messed up. Referring to Danny's case worker she said, "Poor Mrs. Paul. Her job is not easy either."

The worker recognized her deep interest in children, her wish to help them, and her unhappiness and anger when she could not be sure of their future welfare. She assured Mrs. Brent that the agency was interested in what she could do and wanted to do in the future, but the decision rested with her. The worker enumerated precisely the conditions on which children are placed and the respective roles of foster-parents and workers. The worker suggested that living up to this agreement would depend on several things which she would want to consider very seriously: (1) whether she can find enough satisfaction in caring for children who are not and can never be hers, (2) whether she can give up a child and help him when he must go in accordance with the agency's plan, (3) whether she can leave the problems of the parents' visiting arrangements, etc., to the worker, (4) whether she can get over her bad early experience enough to think in terms of present problems and needs of foster-children. If she can not do any of these things, she will not be happy in her job as foster-mother.

Mrs. Brent said her mind was made up. She wanted to work under the agreement mentioned. An appointment was made to discuss it further. On leaving, Mrs. Brent said, "I'm so relieved—I know where I stand."

I shall not discuss the treatment or the many agency mistakes where Mrs. Brent is concerned. We recognize that foster-parents are not immune to the common human weakness of not

hearing those things they do not wish to hear. I wonder, however, whether we have always clearly interpreted and emphasized the specific job of being a foster-parent. Have we stressed sufficiently the responsibilities which do not belong to foster-parents as well as those that they are expected to assume? That is, perhaps we need to highlight some of the differences in the roles of natural parenthood and foster-parent-hood. A wide range of case-work skills and techniques are needed in recognizing and accepting

the feelings of foster-parents about these differences and in helping them to deal with these feelings. I believe it is only as they *understand* and *accept* the differences that they can avoid many of the pitfalls common to foster-parents and gain the satisfactions that will enable them to continue in that role.

CHILDREN'S DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

DISCUSSION BY GERTRUDE EINSTEIN

As a placement worker, I hold the opinions of Miss Kline and Mrs. Overstreet that foster-homes can provide children with those secure, satisfying human relationships which help them use their growth potentialities to the full. I also agree that foster-home placement, with its need for delicate balance between children, "own parents," and foster-parents, requires highly skilled case work and that, in particular, foster-homes can be found, used, and held only through case-work skills which are directly focused on the foster-parents. The paper shows how Lucy's needs have been sensitively recognized and how she has been helped to live and grow in a foster-home.

As a basis for further discussion, I should like to bring out some of the points where I could see differences in handling and to add some aspects and implications of skill in maintaining foster-homes which seem to have significance.

I was interested in the two special dangers for the placement worker which the paper points out. One is that the worker-foster-parent relationship has a natural tendency to become a social one; the other consists in a too exclusive focus on the child. Here I quote directly, "This concern for the child at times leads to an urgency on our part to see that the child's needs are met and make us less willing to accept the foster-parents' feelings, less objective in evaluating them, and less skilful in meeting them than would be true in the worker-client relationship." I should like to go a little further than Miss Kline and Mrs. Overstreet by calling the worker-foster-parent relationship one which comes very close to a worker-client relationship. A client comes to an agency with

a specific need, and he decides, together with the worker, whether the agency's service can meet this need. Does not the foster-parent come to the placement agency with the need for a child, and does not this fact stand unaltered, even though the agency needs him as a foster-parent in turn? If I emphasize this point, it is because such an interpretation will shape the home-study process and lead to a working-out of the basic relationship between agency and foster-parents long before there is a question of a specific child for placement. As the worker and the foster-parents explore and decide together whether or not the applicants wish to go through with their application and whether or not they can be accepted by the agency, the atmosphere is definitely not a social one. In some respects it even has the character of an investigation, inasmuch as questions are asked regarding income, health, and housing conditions, which are very definite and require the filling-in of standard forms.

In this type of first interview and subsequent home study the foster-parents have a continuous opportunity to react to the agency organization and requirements. Will the foster-parents be able to accept the fact that they cannot use their own doctor, that the agency provides clothing in kind for the younger children? What does it mean to them to have to supply the agency with social and health references? What meaning does the board rate have or the fact that the case worker will want to talk to all family members in the household, including the children? How much are applicants able to yield regarding sex and age of the child desired? How threatened are they by the idea that the child has parents of his

own, that they may not appreciate what the foster-home offers to the child? How much can the foster-parent share his feelings about the home-study process, and what is his relationship to his worker? I believe that in a sense this establishes a more "real" basis than anything that can be put into the preplacement preparation for the specific child. The procedure of presenting a child to a foster-parent is, in our agency, the concrete step which follows the general preparation of the home study or the ending around another child. The central home-finder, from all the homes on file, chooses the one that seems best for the child in need of placement, while, at the same time, the child has some of the qualifications that promise to make him satisfactory, or at least acceptable, for the chosen foster-parents. The worker of the child and the worker of the home exchange information in a conference; then the worker of the home presents the child. The latter gives the foster-parents an approximate picture of the behavior pattern and personality of the child and thus gives them a chance to accept or turn down the specific child. Sometimes it takes as much skill to help a foster-parent say "no" as it does to work through to a positive decision. We do not go much beyond this kind of preparation for two reasons. (1) There is the question of confidentiality of the background material given to us by the child's own parents. (2) A description of behavior will help the foster-parent to decide, intellectually, whether or not he believes he will be able to put up with it, but a description cannot really replace the actual living experience, that is, I do not think that through theoretical discussion much of the risk involved can be eliminated. It follows then that most intensive work is needed during the initial placement period, particularly with new foster-mothers. What does the child's behavior do to the foster-mother; what, in turn, the foster-mother's handling to the child? In this connection I should like to raise a question about the assignment of two separate workers for Lucy and her foster-parent. I realize that a great deal of thinking has gone into this subject and that evidently it has worked out very well. In a similar case, in our agency, we should probably have referred Lucy to a psychiatrist to work out her deep-seated personality problems of long standing, but we would have had one worker for Lucy and her foster-mother as their interaction is the reality Lucy must live with. May it not in some instances be necessary

for the worker to confront Lucy and the foster-mother about certain problems, for Lucy to know where she stands, to live with a reality outside her treatment relationship, and for the foster-mother to get some of Lucy's feelings and reactions directly, and vice versa, in the presence of a supportive case worker?

In other words, the worker must deal with the placement situation as such with all its conflicts: the identification of the child with the new family and his fight for maintaining his difference; the acceptance of that difference on the part of the foster-parents and their wish to change the child and make him conform; the wish of the child's own parents to see their child become part of another family and be loved and happy, and their jealousy and guilt feelings around their own failure, which will not allow the child to settle down. All of them will project some of their negative reactions on the worker, who at the same time must be the one to help them to use their positive identification constructively within their relationship to the child. Is this situation not in some way an opposite to the child guidance problem in which a child must often be helped to separate to a degree from a parent while living with him, inasmuch as a placed child must be helped, after a more total separation, to live in a foster-home? Do not two workers stress the separateness instead of the desired moving toward each other? I admit that it requires high skill for the worker to set limits for a child like Lucy, and to work toward acceptance on the foster-mother's part, and still to carry over to both the belief that she is not "taking sides."

As Miss Kline and Mrs. Overstreet point out, the worker in her "supervisory" quality may many times be a threat to the foster-mother, and the worker will have to be well aware of this. At the same time, I do not think that she can afford to "minimize her own importance as the worker" as compared to the foster-mother, to decrease the latter's envy, as has been done with Lucy's foster-mother; this because the agency will continue carrying final and decisive responsibility for the placed child up to the point at which the worker may have to remove the child.

Lucy's case certainly shows that intensive, sensitive case work with the foster-mother and the child are needed particularly after a new placement and with a new foster-parent. Lucy has no active parent; but I should like to mention the paramount importance of work with the

child's parent. Uncontrolled visiting has broken many a foster-home. The feelings of the child's own parents were always in conflict when seeing their child become part of a strange family, their guilt feelings—which are, in our culture, almost inevitable—will frequently lead them to reactions which are hard for the foster-parent to bear. The mildest form is a withholding of gratitude and recognition which the foster-parent believes himself entitled to; but often parents go much further, do not keep their visiting time or day, only criticize the care the child receives, quarrel with each other in the foster-home, or show a lack of feeling for the child which may be incomprehensible to the foster-parent. Intensive work with the child's own parent from the outset seems, therefore, to be one of those fundamental skills which helps to maintain foster-homes. Sometimes the parent cannot move sufficiently, and it might become necessary to arrange for office visiting so as to relieve the foster-parent from a burden with which he cannot justly be saddled. In this connection I should like to mention our agency's use of the temporary home for admissions as well as for children who need replacement and for cases in which there is still some question whether or not the child can make constructive use of foster-home living as such. I cannot go into all the implications of the temporary-home experience for the children as well as for their own parents but must limit my discussion to one aspect, namely, the belief that one temporary home can save a number of permanent homes which otherwise might break down under the stress. We have only to consider that a newly admitted child, as well as one who has not been able to adjust in a previous home, is necessarily in a state of crisis, doubting his parent's love, hurt by the separation, many times not ready and able to accept love and affection, often even hostile and aggressive. For foster-parents, who have waited for this child with open hearts and arms, this is almost unbearable. In addition, we do not know how the parent of the newly admitted child will carry his part in placement. How will he use visiting, and what will his visits mean for the child? Can the average foster-parent take a disturbed parent in addition to a disturbed child? These are factors which, after a temporary home experience, are at least no longer unknown quantities. During the temporary placement period we can find

out whether or not a child can separate sufficiently from his own parent in order to accept a substitute, and the child can express and leave behind some of his hostility. The parent, in turn, experiences what foster-home living for his child means to him and whether or not it is the answer to his need; the worker learns something not just about the child's personality, something which could be done as well in a study home, but about the child in foster-home placement. The long-term foster-parents can be chosen and prepared according to this experience. It may be said that developing and maintaining temporary homes requires a special focus, conviction, and skill. To begin with, only the exceptional applicant is willing and able to accept becoming a temporary foster-parent. The foster-parent with a strong need for affection, who is not free from wanting to "possess" a child at least to some extent, would not be able to endure the pain of that constant separation which is one of the factors of temporary placement. Also, the temporary foster-parent who has no choice with regard to the accepting of children once the sex and age group she wants to serve has been established, must needs be an unusually accepting person, with little need to "change" a child fast and have him comply with her standards. It takes a skilled homefinder to detect such a potential temporary foster-parent and an equally skilled worker to focus on this special task during the home-study process. It seems as if the temporary foster-parent would need, and could use, more teaching than the long-term foster-parent, as she will really function almost as a semiprofessional person who can bear continuously difficult behavior only because of some understanding of psychological causes and effects. The long-term foster-mother, on the contrary, will find her main support not in a teaching process but in her relationship to her worker, in which she can directly handle her own feelings, thoughts, and reactions with regard to the child and can find, with the case worker's support, her own way of handling and accepting a child, similarly as she would do with her own. Of course, this difference is more a gradual one than one in kind. It is evident that the worker's part in a temporary foster-home must consistently be a very active one not only because of the children's and own parents' special need for intensive case work but also because of the temporary foster-parent's part in consistently

facing new placements, with all the ups and downs for the child of the new and painful experience.

Many times a temporary foster-parent needs support in giving up a special child, when her emotions have become stronger than she wanted them to grow, or else the foster-parent needs even more support about the necessity to hold onto a particularly trying child. The temporary foster-parent is usually one who likes and accepts a challenge; and this, too, has to be used wisely by the worker who has to recognize with the foster-mother that her achievement is a subtle and sometimes almost intangible one, namely, getting a child ready constructively to use a new experience.

I should, finally, like to mention the importance of the ending experience with a foster-mother whose child must be replaced or whose home is to be temporarily or permanently closed. Such an ending is extremely important for foster-mother and agency as a part of the former's relationship to the agency as well as in its community implications. Whatever the placement may have meant to the foster-

mother and whatever the reason for removal of the child or closing the home may be, if directly handled between foster-mother and worker, it will help the former to gain a sense of shared experience and an acceptance of her own part in it. By this I mean the same mutuality that I have mentioned in connection with the home study in which worker and applicant arrive at a common decision. The foster-parent may well have a need to put the blame for some of her possible failure and resulting hostility on the agency, and this is what should happen if we want to maintain the good will of the community. Present and former foster-mothers are, as we all know, one of the main sources for referrals. In this sense a placement worker's skill not only in the ending but throughout the entire placement period will definitely have community implications. The respect that the foster-parent has for the agency and its function will stand or fall with the worker's skill in her relationship to the foster-parent.

FOSTER HOME DEPARTMENT

JEWISH CHILD CARE ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK

HOW EFFECTIVE ARE GROUP-WORK AGENCIES IN PREVENTING DELINQUENCY?

ELLERY F. REED

SOME group-work or leisure-time agencies have emphasized that their work was important as a preventive of delinquency. Some have based appeals for funds on the ground that the delinquency rate in the areas contiguous to the agency had shown a decline as a result of their work. On the other hand, representatives of some other of the leading group-work agencies have emphasized that their work was aimed at development of character, leadership, and democratic qualities in normal boys and girls rather than prevention of delinquency. The general public, however, has had the impression that the chief social work approach to the problem of preventing delinquency was through the group-work or leisure-time agencies.

In a study preliminary to the present one a sample of 50 cases was drawn at random from the files of the juvenile court in April, 1940, in Cincinnati and checked with the various local group-work agencies. These agencies were approached personally, and the list of 50 names was checked with staff members as well as with current records and card files. Generally speaking, the group-work agencies did not retain files of membership or of participants beyond the year in which they were active. Fourteen out of the 50 cases were located as having been registered during the preceding three years in one or more group-work agencies. Seven of these 14 were former Y.M.C.A. boys, and 5 had been Boy Scouts.

In contrast to 14 found to have participated in group-work programs, clearing of these 50 cases through the Social Service Exchange showed that 35 had been known to family welfare and relief agencies. The indications thus were that the case-work and relief agencies knew the families of juvenile-court youths much better than did the group-work agencies.

Two divergent theories were indicated for such a relatively small percentage of juvenile-court boys and girls found to be present or past members of group-work agencies. The first theory was that the work of these agencies was so effective that their boys and girls seldom acquired court records. The second theory was that these group-work agencies were serving for the most part families of such character that their children were less likely to develop delinquency.

Both theories might hold a measure of truth. It was desirable, however, to test the hypothesis that the group-work agencies worked more largely with youths from families which by reason of better fortune and character were less productive of delinquency and that this might be the reason that fewer group-work youths got into court. It was desirable to know whether this was true in the respective economic areas of the city. Did the programs of group-work agencies, even when carried on in the slums, tend to attract or select boys and girls from the more stable and wholesome families residing in these areas? In other words, did these agencies tend to "skim the

cream" of the boy-and-girl crop in whatever area of the city they worked?

As a means of testing this hypothesis, a sample of 2,200 group-work boys and girls five to eighteen years of age were selected at random (approximately every tenth card) from the files of group-work agencies in 1942, most of them in April of that year. Sixteen hundred and seventy-nine of these youths were found to live within the limits of the city of Cincinnati. Only these 1,679 were chosen for study because it was desired to allocate them to census tracts which had been rated as to economic status according to average rents paid.¹ By the same method a sample of 246 boys and girls was chosen at random from the year 1941 files of the juvenile court.² In choosing the juvenile-court sample, care was taken to make the sample approximately proportionate in number of boys and girls, and of Negro and white, respectively, to the total case load of the juvenile court during the year 1941.

The names of the father and mother or guardian of many of the group-work youths had to be secured by special inquiry through the agencies or the city directory as the records of group-work agencies often did not include the names of parents. The names of all 1,679 group-work families were cleared through the Social Service Exchange, and the number of registrations by different family welfare, children's, and relief agencies were

noted. Addresses were allocated to census tracts. Similar procedure was applied to the juvenile-court boys and girls to see how many of these families were known to these same case-work and relief agencies and to allocate them to census tracts according to economic level.

A registration of a family by a social agency does not necessarily reflect upon the character or integrity of that family. Many thousands were registered by relief agencies during the depression merely because they could not find jobs and needed assistance at a time when there were not enough jobs to go around. Such circumstances, however, did mean insecurity, hardships, and strain on family relations and individual character. They meant oftentimes living in poor neighborhoods where crime, delinquency, and vice were prevalent and where family influences, even though wholesome, had to compete with unwholesome influences in the community.

It seemed, therefore, a sound assumption that any group of families showing a large number of social agency registrations was one in which the children had been subjected to adverse influences of an environmental nature if not also to limitations stemming from deficiencies of character and of physical and mental health. If a much smaller percentage of the families of group-work youths, as compared with juvenile-court youths, were found registered in the Social Service Exchange and if those registered were registered by fewer agencies, it would indicate that the group-work agencies were serving in large part a different and more fortunate group of families than those represented by the juvenile-court youths. If such were shown to be the case, a low delinquency rate among group-work youths might be expected even without the influence of the agencies.

¹ The economic rating of census tracts was done for the year 1940 by Dr. Floyd P. Allen, of the Public Health Federation of Cincinnati. The four groupings of census tracts used in this study each contained approximately one-fourth of the population.

² The ages of the juvenile-court youths ranged from eight to eighteen, although only 7 were included who were eighteen. The jurisdiction of the court includes offenses committed before the eighteenth birthday but may extend after that until treatment and disposition of the case is completed.

The age distribution of the group-work youths would also be important. If they were found to be concentrated in the age groups younger than those represented most prominently by the juvenile-court youths, this difference might also be a factor accounting for a relatively low delinquency rate.

Some data were also secured comparing the economic status, age distribution, and delinquency rates of the group-work youths with that of the population generally.

Clubs (Wade Street), 47; Boys' Clubs (Ninth Street), 97; Boy Scouts, 336; Camp Fire Girls, 56; Emanuel Center, 24; Fenwick, 69; Girl Scouts, 264; Jewish Center, 84; Public Recreation Commission, 93; Salvation Army, 41; Union Bethel, 72; Y.M.C.A., 374; Y.W.C.A., 141. The total (exclusive of 19 duplications) was 1,679. The relatively small sample of the Public Recreation Commission was due to the fact that most of its work was mass recreation rather than group work. The percentage of group-

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE OF GROUP-WORK AND JUVENILE-COURT YOUTHS AND TOTAL
YOUTH POPULATION, FIVE TO NINETEEN YEARS OF AGE, RANKED BY
ECONOMIC STATUS FROM RESIDENCE IN CENSUS TRACTS

	ECONOMIC RANK BY CENSUS TRACT RESIDENCE (PERCENTAGE)				
	Lowest	Next to Lowest	Next to Highest	Highest	Total
Group-work youths.....	36.7	14.6	20.0	28.7	100.0
Juvenile-court youths.....	51.2	24.0	13.8	11.0	100.0
General youth population.....	27.3	25.2	25.0	22.5	100.0

Economic status of group-work compared with juvenile-court youths.—A general indication of the economic status of the group-work youths as compared with the juvenile-court youths and the general population may be had by comparing the percentage living in specified economic areas. A smaller percentage of the group-work as compared with the juvenile-court youths were found to live in underprivileged economic areas, i.e., 36.7 versus 51.2 per cent in the lowest economic fourth. The upper half of the economic areas included 48.7 per cent of the group-work youths, but only 24.8 per cent of the juvenile-court youths (see Table 1).

The group-work agencies and the number of youth members for each included in the study were as follows: Boys'

work youths living in the upper economic areas would have been larger if the entire sample of over 2,200 names, including over 500 living in the county outside the city, had been ranked according to economic status and included in the study.

It is notable that the group-work sample showed a larger percentage living in both the lowest and the highest economic areas as compared with the total youth population. The middle economic areas were indicated as somewhat neglected by the group-work agencies, particularly the lower middle group, which contained only 14.6 per cent of the total group-work sample as compared with 25.2 per cent of the total youth population.

The general economic status of the census tracts in which the group-work youths or the juvenile-court youths lived is not in itself conclusive evidence of the economic status of the families of these youths. There is often a rather wide range of family incomes within the same census tract. It is thus quite possible that

TABLE 2

GROUP-WORK AND JUVENILE-COURT YOUTHS WITH FAMILIES REGISTERED IN THE SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE BY FAMILY, RELIEF, AND CHILDREN'S AGENCIES

	Number of Individuals	Percentage with Families Registered	Registrations per Family Registered
Group-work youths.	1,679	49.1	2.73
Juvenile-court youths.	246	81.7*	5.04

* Registrations by the juvenile court were not counted for juvenile-court youths but were counted for the group-work youths.

the group-work youths represented in general the more stable and economically secure families even when they lived in census tracts characterized by low average economic status. Further evidence on this matter was therefore sought from the Social Service Exchange.

Families of group-work and juvenile-court youths registered in the Social Service Exchange by family, relief, and children's agencies.—Table 2 further supports the hypothesis that group-work boys and girls frequently come from more stable and socially adequate families than those of the juvenile-court youths. Of the group-work families, 49.1 per cent were registered by family, relief, and children's agencies, public and voluntary, in the Social Service Exchange, as compared with 81.7 per cent of the juvenile-court families.

Table 2 also shows that the families of group-work youths had only about half

as many registrations per family registered as did the juvenile-court families. The number of registrations (each representing a different agency) per family registered offers some measure of the intensity and pervasiveness of the family problems existent in the two groups. The juvenile-court families were indicated, on the whole, to have more serious and persistent problems than the group-work families.

Group-work youths represent a relatively more secure group in all economic areas.—Table 3 shows that even in the lowest economic tracts a much lower percentage of the families of group-work boys and girls were registered in the Social Service Exchange than were families of juvenile-court youths, i.e., 70.3 per cent as compared with 92.8 per cent.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF GROUP-WORK AND JUVENILE-COURT YOUTHS WHOSE FAMILIES WERE REGISTERED IN THE SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE BY FAMILY, RELIEF, AND CHILDREN'S AGENCIES AND NUMBER OF REGISTRATIONS PER FAMILY REGISTERED FOR THOSE LIVING IN THE LOWEST ECONOMIC CENSUS TRACTS

	Total Living in Lowest Economic Census Tracts	Percentage Registered	Registrations per Family Registered
Group-work youths...	617	70.3	3.24
Juvenile-court youths.	126	92.8	5.40

The number of registrations per family registered was also much lower for the group-work families, i.e., 3.24 versus 5.40 (see Table 3). Each registration represented a different agency. The great majority of these registrations were dated during the last fifteen years.

Analysis of those living in the highest and the next to the highest economic

areas showed the same tendency. In the highest economic areas three times as many families of juvenile-court youths as of group-work youths were registered (60.7 versus 20.7 per cent) and in the next to the highest economic areas 1.5 times as many (63.6 per cent and 38.2 per cent).³ In fact, at all economic levels the group-work agencies served a more stable and fortunate group of families as measured by Social Service Exchange registrations.

Group-work youths younger than those in juvenile court.—The largest concentration of group-work youths was in the age groups twelve to fourteen, inclusive—

ence with them later when the danger of delinquency is greatest.

Group-work sample included a smaller percentage of boys than the juvenile court.—Group-work agencies as a whole appeared to be serving a smaller percentage of boys than were found in the juvenile court. Of the group-work youths sample, 60.8 per cent were boys, compared with 75.6 per cent of the juvenile-court group. This situation prevailed in spite of the fact that the group-work agencies included the Y.M.C.A., the Boy Scouts, and Boys' Clubs, all of which had large memberships and proportionately large representation in the sample studied.

TABLE 4
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLES OF GROUP-WORK AND JUVENILE-COURT YOUTHS

	TOTAL No.	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY YEARS OF AGE															
		5+6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	NR*	Total	
Group work	1,679	0.7	2.0	3.3	6.3	8.9	9.4	15.6	11.9	12.1	7.9	6.5	5.2	3.8	6.7	100.0	
Juvenile court	249	0	0	0.8	0.4	1.2	1.2	6.8	12.4	11.2	23.7	20.5	18.9	2.8	0	100.0	

* Age not reported.

in fact, about 40 per cent of the entire number. In the age groups fifteen to seventeen the number of group-work youths dropped off rapidly, whereas it was precisely in these older age groups that the largest number of juvenile-court youths appeared, in fact, 63.1 per cent. The median age for group-work youths was twelve compared with fourteen years and eight months for juvenile-court youths. From the delinquency preventive standpoint this shows the group-work agencies occupying a strategic position in working with the younger boys and girls but, on the other hand, losing immediate influ-

³ Tables similar to Table 3 showing the analysis by agencies for the other groups of census tracts are not included here in order to conserve space. They are, however, available.

Group-work sample included fewer Negro youth than juvenile-court sample.—Approximately 81 per cent of the group-work youths were white, compared with 68.7 per cent of the juvenile-court youths. The percentage of Negro youths in the juvenile-court sample (31.3) was over twice the percentage of Negroes in the total youth population of the city five to nineteen years of age, i.e., 14.1 per cent. The group-work agencies with 19 per cent Negro membership had a larger percentage of Negroes than the general population but less than two-thirds of the percentage of Negroes in the juvenile court. This disproportionately high percentage of Negroes among the juvenile-court youths may be accounted for by

the fact that over 50 per cent of the juvenile-court boys and girls lived in the lowest economic areas (see Table 1), where a much higher percentage of Negroes resided.

Did group-work agencies control delinquency among their own members?—The sample of 1,679 group-work youths was drawn from the active membership files of the agencies in 1942 and for the most part during April of that year. In September, 1944, over two years later, the names of these youths were checked against the juvenile-court files. One hundred and fifty-six, or 9.3 per cent, were found over a period of several years to have court records. Ninety-five had court records dated prior to and including April, 1942. The remaining 61 first acquired records subsequent to that date. In addition to these 61 first offenders, 33 of the 95 who had had records prior to April, 1942, added further records after that date, so that, in all, 94 had records after their known activity in the group-work agencies and 95 had records prior to that time. Putting it another way, out of the 95 who had records prior to April, 1942, 62 showed no further record of offense; but 61 not having court records before subsequently acquired such records. These data suggest the question: How much effect did the group-work agencies have in preventing delinquency among those members who showed such a tendency?

Group-work youths grow more delinquent as they grow older.—Analysis of the court records of the group-work youths in fact showed that as they grew older they grew more delinquent. In 1941 their rate was 2.02 per thousand; in 1942 it was 2.08; in 1943 it was 2.73; and in the first six months of 1944 it was 2.85. The general delinquency rate for the city showed a startling increase in 1943 over

1942, i.e., 3.09 compared with 2.57—an increase of about 20 per cent. The group-work youths showed an even larger percentage increase, i.e., 2.73 in 1943 compared with 2.08 in 1942, or 31 per cent.

The increase in the delinquency rates of the group-work youths was probably due in part to the same general social conditions incident to the war which presumably accounted for the increase in the general delinquency rate. This increased rate of the group-work youths was also probably due in some measure to the fact that they were becoming older, a larger portion thus passing into the age group fifteen to seventeen, in which delinquency rates were highest.

It should be noted that there were among the group-work youths who had court records fewer repeated offenders than was true of the juvenile-court group. Of the 156 group-work youths having court records, 112, or 71.8 per cent, had only one offense, whereas the sample group drawn directly from the juvenile-court files showed 109 out of a total of 246, or only 44.3 per cent, having only one offense. A considerable portion of these first offenders in both groups were traffic ordinance violators, i.e., 19 per cent of the group-work and 34 per cent of the juvenile-court groups. The percentage of serious offenders, i.e., those having three or more offenses, among the group-work boys and girls was small, viz., 16.0 per cent, whereas 30.5 per cent of the juvenile-court sample had three or more court appearances.

Delinquency rate among group-work youths less than among general population.

—The percentage of group-work youths who acquired court records in 1942, the year in which the sample was drawn, was lower in all four economic areas than that for all boys and girls five to seventeen years of age in the respective areas (see

Table 5). For all four areas taken together, 2.57 youths per hundred of the total population of these ages acquired court records, compared with 2.08 of the group-work agency sample of 1,679. In other words, the delinquency rate for the group-work youths was about 20 per cent lower than the over-all city rate.

Table 5 shows that in every economic area, from the lowest one-fourth to the

TABLE 5
DELINQUENCY RATES IN THE GENERAL POPULATION FIVE TO SEVENTEEN YEARS OF AGE BY ECONOMIC AREAS FOR GENERAL POPULATION AND GROUP-WORK YOUTHS

Census Tracts Classified by Economic Status	Delinquents per 100 of the General Population 5 to 17 Years Old in 1942	Delinquents per 100 in a Sample of 1,679 Group- Work Youths in 1942
Lowest.....	5.09	4.54
Next to lowest.....	2.27	0.41
Next to highest.....	1.39	0.89
Highest.....	1.07	0.68
For all areas.....	2.57	2.08

highest, the group-work youths had a lower delinquency record than the general youth population living near them. The conclusion, however, cannot be surely drawn that the group-work youths had the same economic and social status as the general population in the respective areas and that their lower delinquency rates were due to the influence of the group-work agencies. Their families may have been above average in security and independence. Comparatively few group-work families may have been heavily weighted with factors making for delinquency. This is not to deny that the group-work agencies may have been a factor in preventing delinquency. It is simply to point out that Table 5 does not give assurance that the economic and

social factors have been held even in comparing the group-work youths and the general population. If this could be done, the influence of the group-work agencies could be to such an extent isolated and so more accurately appraised.

Age distribution of group-work youths compared with general population.—The lower rates for group-work youths as shown in Table 5 may also have been accounted for in some measure by an age distribution different from that represented by the general population. It has been shown that the major portion of juvenile-court youths were in the age group fifteen to seventeen, inclusive. Table 6 shows that the age distribution of group-work youths as compared with the general population was favorable to lower delinquency rates. The group-work

TABLE 6
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF GENERAL YOUTH POPULATION OF CINCINNATI, 1940, AND OF SAMPLE OF GROUP-WORK YOUTHS AND JUVENILE-COURT YOUTHS (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

Age Group	General Population	Group-Work Youths	Juvenile- Court Youths
5-9 years....	34.5	13.8	1.2
10-14 years....	39.6	64.4	33.9
15-17 years....	25.9*	21.8	64.9
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Estimated by interpolation of census data for age group fifteen to nineteen.

sample had only 21.8 per cent in the age group fifteen to seventeen compared with 25.9 per cent of the general youth population. The juvenile-court sample shows an overwhelming preponderance (64.9 per cent) of its members in this age group. The group-work agencies are indicated as working with less than a normal percentage of youths in the high delinquency ages, and this alone might ex-

plain their more favorable delinquency rate, compared with the total youth population.

Were group-work and juvenile-court samples valid?—The standard errors of the samples with respect to the percentage of families in the two sample groups found registered by family, child welfare, and relief agencies in the Social Service Exchange, i.e., 49.1 per cent for the group-work and 81.7 per cent for the juvenile-court families, were 2.5 and 1.2, respectively. In other words, as far as the element of chance in the selection of the sample was concerned, the mathematical probabilities were 2 to 1 that further such samples would have shown registrations numbering between 46.6 per cent and 51.6 per cent of the total in case of the group-work families and between 80.5 per cent and 82.9 per cent for the juvenile-court families.

The validity or representative character of the juvenile-court sample is indicated also by the age distribution of the *sample* as compared with the age distribution of *all* juvenile-court youths in 1941, the year from which the sample was drawn. The age group fifteen to seventeen contained 62.9 per cent of the total of all juvenile-court youths. The percentage of the juvenile-court *sample group* included in the same ages was 63.1 per cent, a difference of only 0.2 per cent. The sample was drawn entirely at random as far as age was concerned. This close approximation of age distribution of the sample to the entire group from which it was drawn, as well as the standard error cited above, indicated a very good degree of validity for the juvenile-court sample. The validity of the group-work sample could not be similarly tested relative to age because the age distribution of all youths served by group-work agencies was not available.

The juvenile-court sample was purposely drawn to have approximately the same proportion of boys and girls and of white and Negro as the total of all juvenile-court youths for the same year. The sex and color percentages of the total of 2,800 juvenile-court youths for the year studied, compared with the same percentages for the sample group of 246, are shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7

	Total Juvenile-Court Group (Percentage)	Juvenile-Court Sample Group (Percentage)
Boys.....	74.5	75.6
Girls.....	25.5	24.4
White.....	70.4	68.7
Negro.....	29.6	31.3

CONCLUSION

The group-work agencies were shown to be serving to an important extent a different group from that represented by the juvenile-court youths. The group-work youths were less concentrated in the economically underprivileged areas of the city, and their families were less frequently known to case-work and relief agencies. They were in general a younger group than the juvenile-court youths, and they had a smaller percentage of boys and of Negroes in their membership. All these differences would tend to result in a relatively low delinquency rate among group-work youths as compared with that segment of the general population having characteristics comparable to the juvenile-court sample.

The study showed that group-work youths had lower delinquency rates than the general population in each of the four economic areas. This may indeed have been attributable in greater or less measure to the work of the group-work agencies, but many other influences and fac-

tors affect delinquency rates. Their lower delinquency rate may have been due in part to the smaller percentage of group-work youths found in the high-delinquency age groups. It is possible that the group-work youths were in general from families of more than average economic stability and character, compared with the total population of the respective census tract areas in which they lived.

More light is needed on this comparison of group-work youths with the general population. It would be desirable to have Social Service Exchange registration rates by family welfare, children's, and relief agencies for the general population in the respective census tracts. These rates then could be compared with such registration rates for families of group-work youths living in the same areas. It would also be helpful to know what rents were paid by the families of group-work youths so that these could be compared with the average rents paid by all residents in the respective census tracts, as determined by the United States census. Such data would help to answer the question of whether the group-work agencies are drawing their membership from families of more than average security and stability, families whose children are less inclined to delinquency than those of the general population.

The present study does indicate that group-work agencies are not in general identified closely with the underprivi-

leged and insecure elements in the population, nor with the age groups among which delinquency is most prevalent. This is not a criticism of the group-work agencies. The philosophy of some of them is quite defensible, i.e., that their chief contribution is to develop leadership and democratic and positive social character in their members and, in general, to work with a representative group in various areas of the community rather than to concentrate on those elements in the community which are most delinquent.

The findings of this study, however, may suggest the question of whether some group-work agencies by the nature of their programs, attitudes, and methods do, in fact, screen out the boys and girls who are handicapped physically, mentally, economically, or racially; or who are emotionally maladjusted; or who have an unfortunate and unhappy family background. If this is true, are they failing to serve those who need their service most? Should they be giving more attention to the problem of serving more effectively the boys and girls who are most in danger of becoming delinquents and, ultimately, burdensome and dangerous members of society? If group-work agencies could more effectively serve such, it would be of great value to society as well as to these unhappy children and their families.

COMMUNITY CHEST OF CINCINNATI AND
HAMILTON COUNTY

RUNAWAY YOUTH TO DETROIT DURING THE WAR¹

RALPH CARR FLETCHER

THE basic underlying motives of a given type of symptomatic behavior such as truancy are assumed to be constantly present. A war or a depression may add to or subtract from these motives and provide increased or decreased opportunities for expression. At the beginning of a war an increase in delinquency is anticipated, and this anticipation usually prompts a better program of case finding and a more meticulous recording of cases. The result is often an inflated set of statistical data without clues to the amount of the inflation.

Runaway children, "those boys and girls who live outside the jurisdiction of the juvenile court where they are apprehended, and who have apparently left home without the knowledge or consent of their parents or guardians,"² were particularly marked for spectacular increases during the last war. Consequently, many local authorities made definite provision to meet such an increase. Early in the course of the war, the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges urged federal legislation to help the local authorities to meet the problem.³ It was as-

sumed that not only would the number of such cases increase but there would be increased difficulties encountered in returning the youth to their homes and that the detention homes in certain cities would become congested with out-of-town juveniles.

In December, 1943, a bill was introduced in the Senate, "to authorize the use of funds appropriated under the provision of the Social Security Act for aid to dependent children to pay the cost of temporarily caring for and returning to their homes interstate runaway children under 16 years of age."⁴ At the time of the hearings on this bill, it was found that there were no nation-wide statistics available on this problem and that the variance in local practice in handling the problem made the combining of local reports out of the question. However, the larger urban centers did report a substantial increase in the number of transient children handled by the juvenile courts, and the consensus of opinion was that Detroit was a favorite destination for runaway youth.

This opinion was shared in Detroit. For several years prior to our entry into the war the responsibility for out-of-town girls had been assigned to a single worker at the Juvenile Court. Shortly after the war had started, an increase in the volume of these cases was noted. A special record was prepared and kept throughout the period of the war, not only to serve in handling these cases, but with the view of making a study of the problem after the war was over. The worker assigned to

¹ This article is based upon data collected by the following students in preparing theses for the Institute of Social Work, University of Michigan: Margaret Amo, "Out-of-Town Juveniles—Girls" (1945); Elsie Chalk, "Out-of-Town Juveniles—Boys" (1946); and Louis Fraiberg, "The Detention of Children in Wayne County" (1946).

² White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *The Delinquent Child* (New York: Century, 1932), p. 284.

³ Mary Skinner and Alice Scott Nutt, "Adolescents Away from Home," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXXXVI (1944), 51-52.

⁴ *Ibid.*

these cases in December, 1941, served continuously throughout the period used in this study. Similarly, the boys' department assigned the responsibility for handling out-of-town boys to one probation officer. Consequently the records used in this study are consistent and possess a high degree of reliability. It is possible from a study of these data to discover what increase in the volume of cases took place in Detroit during this period, whether there was any significant change in the character of the problem, and whether the normal process of returning youth to their homes was hampered by these changes.

Although there was considerable fluctuation from month to month in the number of out-of-town juveniles apprehended in Detroit, the number of both boys and girls increased steadily from the beginning of the war until a peak was reached in the latter part of 1943 and the early part of 1944. From this point there was some decline through the months of 1944 and 1945. The increase from 1941 to 1943 was 113 per cent, and the decrease from 1943 to 1944 was 17 per cent. The trends for both boys and girls were remarkably similar. Throughout the period the number of boys was consistently larger, averaging 129 boys to 100 girls.

The large majority of nonresident girls was referred to the court by the local law-enforcement agencies. Of the 1,232 girls so referred, 1,041 were referred by the Women's Division of the Detroit Police Department, 96 by other local police departments in Wayne County, 14 by the County Sheriff, 4 by the State Police, 7 by federal agencies, and 70 directly by social agencies. There was no noticeable change in this distribution of the source of referral through the five years. Consequently, any change in the

policy of the Women's Division of the Detroit Police Department in apprehending runaway girls would have had an effect upon the trend. During this time, there was no stated change in the police procedure of the Women's Division with regard to either patrol or practice in apprehending girls. Many of the arrests were made upon complaints or information furnished to the police by hotel managers, railroad and bus depot police, employers, and citizens. It is possible that the emphasis placed upon juvenile delinquency by the three Detroit daily papers may have increased this reporting. However, the major increase in arrests took place before the papers had launched their campaigns on juvenile delinquency.

The apprehension of boys follows approximately the same pattern as the girls'. The youth were picked up by patrols on suspicion or were apprehended in the course of investigations of specific complaints or ordinance violations.

The increase in cases of both boys and girls seems to have been too large and too sustained to be attributed merely to an increased alacrity on the part of the public and the police to ferret out runaway youth. Although case materials were meager for this type of problem, there was considerable evidence that opportunities for employment at high wages in Detroit together with ease of travel did much to increase the number of runaways entering the city.

There was a marked seasonal variation in the apprehension of runaways. For the months of September the average number of out-of-town juveniles detained daily during the war was 9.4. This dropped to a low of 5.1 for the Decembers. It is possible that the war tended to emphasize the seasonal fluctuation. During the war the number of work-permits

issued to minors increased sharply, and the number of school drop-outs increased. The interest of the youth in school was brought into sharp competition with job opportunities at high wages. If the youth stayed in his own community, he would be expected to return to school, whereas running away to a new community offered an opportunity to evade schooling. In many cases the parents or guardians had given the youth permission to come to Detroit to seek employment.

Although the seasonal fluctuation throughout the war years was consistent and large, there were marked differences between the seasonal index for boys and that for girls with regard to both amplitude and character. The amplitude of fluctuation for boys was almost twice that for girls and much more consistent. The seasonal index for the boys shows the greatest correlation with the school year.

Runaways are inclined to overstate their age when arrested. However, in making arrangements for their return, the correct age is usually obtained and entered on the record. The amount of error in the statistics on age was relatively small and constant throughout the period. Therefore, it is possible to ascertain whether any pronounced change in the age of the runaways accompanied the increase in numbers. Very few of the youth were under the age of thirteen, and the proportion of these younger runaways to the total remained practically the same throughout the war.

In the case of the girls there was very little variation in the age distribution from year to year. Fifty per cent of the cases consistently fell between 14.5 and 16.5 years of age. In the case of the boys, there was a slight but consistent increase in the median age. Since seeking work

played a large part in the reason given for the boys' coming to Detroit, this increase in age is not surprising.

The racial composition of the out-of-town juveniles changed noticeably during the war. In the case of the boys, this change was gradual and consistent, rising from 13.4 per cent nonwhite in 1941 to 18.9 per cent in 1945. The peak of Negro boys reaching Detroit occurred after the race riot. In the case of the girls, the per cent of nonwhite rose from 7.6 per cent in 1940-41 to 18.1 in 1944-45. However, this rise was not a consistent increase from year to year.

During the five years studied, forty-two states, the District of Columbia, and Canada contributed runaways who were detained in Detroit. All the states except Idaho, New Hampshire, Montana, South Dakota, Washington, and Vermont supplied some of the out-of-town juveniles. A coefficient of rank correlation by states for boys and girls was .932, which indicates that the distribution by states was very much the same for both sexes.

Most of the youth did not travel very far to reach Detroit, and almost 70 per cent of them came from Michigan and from the border states of Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana. In almost all these cases the distance traveled was within a day's hitchhiking or a few dollars' bus fare. Most of those from Michigan came from small cities and towns located within fifty miles of Detroit and along the major highways where hitchhiking was comparatively easy. Because of the campaigns to "share the ride," during the war, youth found it easy to move along these highways in stages of five and ten miles at a time.

Although the spread among the states was very much the same for both boys and girls, the percentage of interstate migrants to the total was much greater

for boys than for girls. Forty-seven per cent of the girls were interstate cases, whereas 58 per cent of the boys came from outside the state. It is possible that more girls who ran away from home with Detroit as their destination were apprehended before reaching the city, since in many cases their transportation involved violation of the Mann Act. There does not seem to have been any trend in the ratio of interstate runaways to the total

many of the runaways came from the South. The southern states furnished 19 per cent of the total number of cases and 35 per cent of those from outside Michigan. In Zone III, 76 per cent of the children came from the South; in Zone IV, 57 per cent; and in Zone V, 55 per cent. In some cases the youth were apprehended en route from their homes to relatives in Michigan. For example, there is the case of Jack, whose problem was similar to that of many other youth.⁶

Jack, a Negro boy fourteen years old, had been living with his grandmother in Alabama. He came to Detroit two weeks prior to his detention to find his father, who had come to Detroit to work. Unable to find his father, he went to stay with his aunt and got a job with the Western Union. Since his aunt had no bed for him to sleep in, he went to the Detention Home himself for a place to stay and for help in locating his father.

In many cases the parents or guardians overestimated the ability of the youth to travel by themselves. The case of Ronald and Jimmie, eight and ten years old, illustrates this problem.⁷

At 6:15 P.M., Private X found these boys loitering at the Greyhound Bus Depot. The boys explained that their father had sent them to visit their aunt in Pontiac for a few days and that morning the aunt had placed them on a bus in Pontiac for Detroit and also gave them a ticket for Kentucky. When they arrived in Detroit, they did not get on the Kentucky bus but cashed in their tickets. After eating lunch in the drug store, they tried to get a room in one of the large hotels near the bus station. On being refused a room, they bought a supply of candy

Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, District of Columbia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Nebraska, North Dakota; Zone V, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, California, Oregon, Nevada.

⁶ Adapted from a case reported by Chalk, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

TABLE 1

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF OUT-OF-TOWN JUVENILES

Area	Boys	Girls	Total
Zone I.....	675	651	1,326
Zone II.....	423	246	669
Zone III.....	252	135	387
Zone IV.....	176	170	346
Zone V.....	39	30	69
Address not known	26	26
Total.....	1,591	1,232	2,823

during the war. The per cent of interstate runaway boys varied only from 47 to 49 per cent a year, while the per cent of the girls was much more erratic, ranging from 40 to 54 per cent without any trend.

In order to give some idea of the distance traveled by the youth, the state of origin of the runaways was classified in one of five zones representing five concentric tiers of states with Michigan as the center,⁵ as shown in Table 1.

Since there was considerable movement of population north into Detroit during the war, it is not surprising that

⁵ Zone I, Michigan; Zone II, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Canada (because all the Canadian youth came from Ontario, Canada was considered a contiguous state); Zone III, New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota; Zone IV, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New

and comic books and prepared to spend the night in the bus station.

Fifty-three youth came from Canada. Most of these were boys, many of whom came across the border to join the armed services of the United States or the American Merchant Marine. Although there were only seventeen girls who came from Canada during the period of this study, their cases presented some of the most difficult problems, like that of Grace.⁸

Grace, a sixteen-year-old girl, came to the attention of the police when a hotel manager reported that two young girls and two soliders had registered. Grace claimed to be nineteen and an orphan whose parents were killed in an auto accident a year earlier. She gave a Detroit address and a place of employment and said that she had formerly lived in Buffalo. After several hours of detention at Police Headquarters, she admitted her true identity and age and was transferred to the Juvenile Detention Home.

Further investigation revealed that she truanted from her parents' home in Ontario three months earlier. On the street in Toronto she and her seventeen-year-old friend met two men with whom they went to Buffalo and then to Detroit. When the girls refused to prostitute, the men disappeared.

The matter of violation of the Mann Act was referred to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the United States Immigration Service was notified of the girls' whereabouts. The disposition of the investigation in reference to prostitution necessitated detention for one month, but the deportation proceedings prolonged Grace's detention to a total of eighty-eight days.

At the beginning of the war there was some national concern over the possible effect of an increased number of interstate runaways upon detention-home practice, and it was anticipated that the average length of detention would be increased. This did not happen in Wayne County. One worker handled all the cases

of runaway girls throughout the war years, and the cases moved fairly rapidly through the detention home. In fact, the average length of detention was reduced during the war.

The length of detention of the girls was somewhat longer than that of the boys. The median length of stay for the boys was 2.8 days and for the girls 3.4 days. In both cases the median length of stay was consistently reduced except for the last few months of 1943 when the volume of work for the girls' worker increased rather rapidly and slowed the process of returning the girls to their homes. Even though there were more interstate cases involving boys than girls, 75 per cent of the boys were released from detention before the lapse of 7.2 days. The percentage of children detained for ten days or more can be accepted as a measure of the percentage of serious cases to the total number. Approximately 25 per cent of the girls and 17 per cent of the boys were detained for ten days or longer. There was no trend in these percentages during the war years.

Three factors played a major part in determining the longer detention of runaway girls, compared with boys. First, the girls were given a physical examination upon detention, and, although only a small percentage was found to be venereally infected, public health practice dictated a longer detention period for these cases. Second, girls crossing state boundaries often were involved in Mann Act prosecutions, and detention was prolonged while the case was being prepared against the male offender. Third, many of the girls were apprehended from Friday evening through Sunday while frequenting places of amusement, and, consequently, the work of planning for the return of these girls was delayed until the following Monday. If it were

⁸ Adapted from a case reported by Amo, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

not for these three factors, most of the girls would have been out of the Detention Home before four or five days had elapsed.

SUMMARY

1. There was a substantial increase in the number of runaway youth to Detroit during the war. This increase cannot be attributed to increased activity in apprehending the youth.

2. Most of the increase, if not all of it, seems to be attributable to improved economic conditions, ease of travel, and general migration of people seeking employment in the large industrial centers.

3. There was little change in the age of the youth, although the racial distribution did change noticeably. This was not

out of proportion to the general increase in the migration of Negroes to Detroit during the war.

4. Although there was an increase in the number of interstate cases, the percentage of interstate cases to the total number of runaways did not increase.

5. Most of the out-of-state runaways came from the states furnishing most of the adult migrants to Detroit during the war.

6. The average length of stay in the Detroit Detention Home during the war was not increased as a result of the increase in the number of runaways apprehended in Detroit.

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL WORK
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
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THE OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE REPORT¹

ROBERT W. BEASLEY

THE potential significance of the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Report,² which recommends a virtual revamping of the old age and survivors insurance system, is based on several factors. The President's Cabinet Committee on Economic Security, with the support of an advisory council, was the medium through which the original Social Security Act was placed before the Congress in 1935. Again in 1939 when the economic risk of survivors' dependency was added to the contributory social insurance structure, impetus came from an advisory council. This activating course, apparently, then, is the emerging tradition.

The present Advisory Council on Social Security is composed of seventeen prominent citizens selected by the Senate Committee on Finance in November, 1947, to represent all parts of the population, including business, industry, labor, agriculture, and the general public. The recommendations in its report are based on the Council's appraisal of the substance and operation of the present old age and survivors insurance system, particularly as related to the nation's present economic setting, and on a six-month study of its interim committee

and its research staff. Of its twenty-two recommendations, twenty were unanimously agreed upon by the Council's membership.

Each house of Congress now has available specific recommendations and a wealth of substantive background data on old age and survivors insurance, compiled under its own auspices. The House Ways and Means Committee report, *Issues in Social Security* (commonly known as the "Calhoun Report") was completed in 1946.

In this setting, then, we may consider the position taken by the Advisory Council in support of its proposals to expand, liberalize, and bring up to date the old age and survivors insurance system.

Perhaps the report's greatest significance is in its unqualified reaffirmation of the principle of contributory insurance as the primary method by which the nation "makes sure that all members of the community have at least a basic measure of protection against the major hazards of old age and death." The report begins with the pronouncement that "opportunity for the individual to secure protection for himself and his family against the economic hazards of old age and death is essential to the sustained welfare, freedom and dignity of the American citizen." More specifically to affirm its stand, "the Council favors as the foundation of the social security system the method of contributory social insurance with benefits related to prior earnings and awarded without a needs test."

¹ The opinions expressed in this article are those of the writer and do not necessarily represent the official views of the Social Security Administration.

² *Old-Age and Survivors Insurance: A Report to the Senate Committee on Finance from the Advisory Council on Social Security* (United States Senate, [80th Cong., 2d sess.], Doc. No. 149) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948), pp. 67.

After emphasizing the limitations of general revenue-financed public assistance in meeting this objective, the Council says:

Our goal is, so far as possible, to prevent dependency through social insurance and thus greatly reduce the need for assistance. We recognize that, for a decade or two, public assistance will be necessary for many persons whose need could have been met by the insurance program if it had been in effect for a longer time and had covered all persons gainfully employed. The Council looks forward, however, to the time when virtually all persons in the United States will have retirement or survivorship protection under the old-age and survivors' insurance program. If insurance benefits are of reasonable amount, public assistance will then be necessary only for those aged persons and survivors with unusual needs and for the few who, for one reason or another, have been unable to earn insurance rights through work. Under such conditions the Federal expenditure for public assistance can be reduced to a small fraction of its present amount.

The Council's position is in almost complete agreement with that of the Social Security Administration, as outlined in its annual reports to Congress and in Commissioner Altmeyer's statement to the Council at its first meeting. Such differences as do exist relate not to the basic principles which should underlie the American system of social security but rather to ponderable details on benefit formula, requirements for insured status, etc.

The Council recognizes three major defects in the present program. They are inadequate coverage, unduly restrictive eligibility requirements for older workers, and inadequate benefits. Twenty-one of the twenty-two specific recommendations of the Council are devoted to correction of these major defects. The twenty-second recommendation concerns financing of the system.

INCLUSION OF PRACTICALLY ALL WORKERS

If the recommendations are adopted, coverage will be extended to practically the entire labor force of the nation, including agricultural and domestic workers, employees of nonprofit organizations, members of the armed forces, and the self-employed. Reconciliation of present separate systems for federal employees and railroad workers with old age and survivors insurance envisages their role as supplementary to the basic protection of old age and survivors insurance. Employees of state and local governments would be included through voluntary agreements between the states and the federal government, except that employees in businesses or industries operated by state and local governments would be covered compulsorily. The only employees left out of the system would be clergymen and members of religious orders.

The Social Security Administration's recommendations as to coverage have been very similar to those of the Council. The former, however, would include clergymen and members of religious orders unless that group indicates that it does not wish to be included.

LIBERALIZATION OF BENEFITS

Size of benefits would be substantially increased, nearly double the size of the present average benefits, according to the Council's report. The method of determining size of payments would be revised to take into account present wage levels and costs of living. The maximum annual wage for tax- and benefit-computation purposes, now \$3,000, would be raised to \$4,200 (\$4,800 had been recommended by the Social Security Administration).

The proposed formula would replace 50 per cent of the first \$75 of the average monthly wage and 15 per cent of the remainder. No increment would be added for years of covered employment. This formula, with other proposals to liberalize benefits, would within a few years raise the average benefit for a retired male worker from the present average of \$25 a month to an average of about \$55. The average benefit for man and wife would be about \$85 a month, as compared with the present average of \$39. The average monthly benefit for a widow and two children would be increased to about \$110 from the present average of slightly over \$48.

A substantial increase in the top and bottom limits on benefit amounts is recommended by the Council, particularly as they affect the total monthly benefits payable to a family. The minimum "primary benefit"³ would be \$20, as contrasted with the present \$10 minimum. The maximum amount payable on the account of any one wage-earner would be three times the wage-earner's primary-benefit amount, or 80 per cent of his average monthly wage, whichever is less. This limitation, however, would not be applied if it reduced the total family benefits below \$40 a month. No maximum dollar limit is set.

The present maximum on monthly benefits payable on the account of any one wage-earner is twice the individual's primary-benefit amount, 80 per cent of his average monthly wage, or \$85, which

ever is least. The first limitation—twice the wage-earner's benefit amount—is the one which most often reduces the amount a family might otherwise receive. It means that the maximum monthly benefit payable is reached whenever a surviving family includes as many as four children, or a widow and three children; the family's monthly benefits cannot be larger even if there are additional children who meet the eligibility requirements.

Other provisions to liberalize benefits are included in the Council's recommendations. One would raise the benefit amount of the first surviving child from one-half to three-fourths the wage-earner's primary-benefit amount. A parent's benefit also would be three-fourths the primary benefit instead of one-half as at present. Women could qualify for benefits at age sixty instead of sixty-five. A lump-sum death benefit would be payable even though the worker left someone immediately entitled to monthly benefits.

Many more dependents of insured women workers could qualify for benefits under the Council's recommendations. Young children might get benefits upon the death of the mother, if she had the required insured status, without regard to whether the father was living with or helping to support the children. Benefits would be payable also to aged dependent husbands and widowers of insured women workers.

The differences between the Council's recommendations on benefit provisions and those of the Social Security Administration are minor in the main, particularly so far as net effect on benefit amounts is concerned. There is one fairly major difference, however, concerning the benefit formula. The Council would

³ The "primary benefit" is the basic benefit amount of the wage-earner, on which all family benefits are based. A wife's benefit is half the amount of the primary benefit; a widow's is three-fourths; a child's is one-half (the Council would increase this to three-fourths for the first child); and a parent's is one-half (this also would be increased to three-fourths).

eliminate the present increment to the basic primary benefit amount for years of covered employment.

The present provision increases the worker's primary benefit amount by 1 per cent for each year in which he was paid wages of \$200 or more. The Administration recommendations have included an increment provision, because it felt the benefit amount should be related not only to the worker's prior wage level but also to his continued productive effort. The increment serves to provide a higher benefit to the individual who has worked and contributed over a long period than to one who has the same average monthly wage but whose contributions have been made over a shorter period.

WORK CLAUSE

The present work clause, which requires that benefits be suspended for any month in which the beneficiary (or the worker on whose account a child or wife is receiving benefits) works for wages of \$15 or more, would be changed. The Council recommends that any beneficiary under age seventy who works in covered employment should have his monthly benefit reduced by the amount that his wages for any month exceed \$35. Thus a person earning \$50 a month would have his benefit reduced by \$15. No work clause would apply in the case of persons seventy years of age or older.

The Social Security Administration's recommendations also would apply a work-clause limitation only to persons under seventy years of age. They would suspend benefits for any months in which the beneficiary earns more than \$40. This proposal would generally be more advantageous to beneficiaries, would be much easier and more economical to administer, and probably would be easier

for beneficiaries to understand and comply with.

EASING OF ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR OLDER WORKERS

The Council's proposal would enable older workers, who retire after only a few years under the system, to qualify for fairly substantial benefits. An older person would be fully insured and eligible for benefits if he met either the requirements of the present law (had "coverage"⁴ for half as many calendar quarters as elapsed between January 1, 1937, and the quarter he reaches age sixty-five or dies) or had at least one quarter of coverage for every two calendar quarters elapsing after 1948 and before the quarter in which he attains age sixty-five or dies, with a minimum requirement of six quarters of coverage. Any quarters of coverage earned after 1936 could be used to make up the number required under the latter alternative. Thus, a person who was sixty-three and one-half years old or older by January 1, 1949, could qualify for benefits at age sixty-five or later after only six quarters of coverage, any or all of which he might have earned at any time after 1936, when employment was first counted under this system.

Benefits in such cases could be quite substantial since, under the proposed formula, size of benefits would be determined only by the average monthly wage—length of employment would not be a factor. Thus a person who could qualify for benefits with only six quarters of coverage could receive, under the Council's proposal, a monthly benefit of \$48.75 if his average monthly wage was \$150—the same amount he would re-

⁴ A quarter of "coverage" is a calendar quarter in which the worker has been paid \$50 or more in covered employment.

ceive ultimately if he were a younger man with ten or more years of covered employment and with the same average monthly wage.

This "new start" provision is different from any which the Social Security Administration had considered favorably, unless coverage was extended to all occupations at the same time. It would seem that if some groups should not be covered until a later date, there would need to be another "new start" for all workers at that time. Other alternatives have been suggested which cannot be described within the space available to this review.

FINANCING OF SYSTEM

The Council would raise the social security tax on employers and employees from the present 1 per cent on each of the first \$3,000 of earnings in a year to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the first \$4,200 of earnings (\$4,200 would also be the maximum annual earnings on which benefits would be computed). Self-employed persons would pay one and one-half times the employee rate, or $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

The Social Security Administration's recommendation has been that self-employed persons with higher incomes contribute at a somewhat higher rate than those with low incomes. This would be accomplished by contributions at the employee rate only on the first \$500 of net income from self-employment and on the combined employer-employee rate on the balance up to the maximum earnings counted for contribution and benefit purposes. The Administration had also recommended that maximum earnings counted for both benefit and contribution purposes be \$4,800.

The first increase in the contribution rate—from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on both em-

ployers and employees—should go into effect, the Council believes, at the same time that benefits are liberalized and coverage extended. The next increase, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent, it would postpone until the income from the $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent rate is insufficient to meet current expenditures. When the 2 per cent rate provides insufficient income to meet current expenditures, the Council recommends immediate consideration of a government contribution.

The Council's conviction that the federal government should participate in financing the system is explained clearly in the report. Among the reasons given are: recognition of the nation's interest in the welfare of the aged and of widows and children; reduction in need for public assistance with corresponding reduction in general taxation to meet that need; smaller contributions that older workers will make to the system since they will not have worked their full lifetimes under the system. This last point the Council stresses particularly, since adequate benefits for older workers represent an accrued liability, which it feels should not be borne entirely by younger workers and their employers but rather should be shared at least in part by the general revenues of the government.

A reading of the full report of the Council is recommended to all readers. It is excellent both as to reasoning and as to substance of recommendations and in its concise, readable style. Many significant points have not been included in this review merely because of space limitations. Of special interest to many will be the proposal for a commission to study the broad problems of the aged.

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

PLANNING FOR THE 1950 CENSUS

PLANNING for the 1950 census of population has been under way during the current year, although it is approximately two years before the house-to-house canvass is to begin.

The *American Statistician*, published by the American Statistical Association, notes¹ that the staff of the Census Bureau recognizes that "the wide-spread use of census statistics imposes unusual responsibility upon them to develop a program to take account of all types of demands. Insofar as possible, they should become acquainted . . . with all the requests for new types of population and agriculture data and new types of tabulations." It is pointed out that they should "determine the feasibility of meeting the new demands and should plan budget requests in such a way as to meet those demands possessing sufficient public interest and usefulness." The importance of the new demands must be reviewed, and the need for repeating the inquiries formerly used should be re-examined. That is, "no subject should be included in the 1950 Census merely because it was a part of one or more previous censuses."

The article continues with some important observations regarding the census canvass.

Anyone who is familiar with Census statistics or, for that matter, with almost any type of survey statistics, whether public or private, knows the strong pressure that always arises in behalf of new questions. In support of the demand, it is pointed out that a particular question adds little to the cost since the enumerator has already made his contact with the household and needs only a very short additional time to get one more question answered. There is a certain amount of truth in this contention although it should be noted that the prolongation of the

interview time does add something to the cost and may prolong the interview time to a point where fatigue and annoyance on the part of the respondent affect the quality of the answers.

Another serious consideration, and one not so generally recognized, is the deterioration in the quality of all the census results arising when an unduly heavy load is imposed upon an army of quickly recruited and often inadequately trained enumerators. Each question added to the schedule contributes its share to the volume of instructions which need to be assimilated in advance of enumeration, and the cumulative effect of a large number of additional questions may be to spread the training time over so many subjects that the enumerator is not properly equipped to get reliable information on any one of them.

Further, if the new questions are not fully accepted by the public, popular resentment may develop and the accuracy of answers to other questions may thus be affected. It should be noted also that the addition of questions to the census schedule increases proportionately the time required to review and edit the information in the Washington office, to enter codes where necessary, to prepare punch cards and to tabulate, summarize, and publish. As a result of delays at all these points, some of the census results become available in published form two or three years after the date to which they apply, with the result that their value is appreciably reduced.

The *American Statistician* also discusses "methods of getting advice regarding the censuses":

The Bureau of the Census has always regarded itself as responsible for securing data which will be most useful to the individuals and organizations using its product. To meet this responsibility the Bureau must solicit the opinions of its users. The current need for this kind of activity is unusually great for several reasons: (1) The pressure for new questions and tabulations will be increased because of unusual wartime shifts and because of the general expansion in the private and public uses of factual data. (2) There is need for the greatest possible

¹ In an article by A. Ross Eckler of the Bureau of the Census.

economy, especially in view of the sharp increase since 1940 in many types of costs connected with census taking. (3) There is need to consider new techniques since the continued high mobility of the population and the large numbers in hotels, rooming houses, dormitories, trailer camps and other places difficult to enumerate will make for unusual difficulty in obtaining a satisfactory population count. (4) There is a need for improving the quality of census statistics.

The Bureau of the Census will rely heavily upon the judgment of technical and advisory committees in assigning proper weight to the many conflicting claims for consideration. As in the past the Census Advisory Committee appointed by the President of the American Statistical Association will serve as the final clearing house for the recommendations from all the more specialized committees.

The economic status of the population is recognized as a subject of interest, and it is pointed out that there will doubtless be a demand for some general measures of the economic status of families and individuals in various areas. The following alternatives are said to have been under consideration:

1. Wage or salary income of all persons and families, the approach used in 1940, but not entirely satisfactory in farming areas and in other areas where a significant number of the families have a large fraction of their income from sources other than wages and salaries.
2. Total income, including income from sources other than wages or salaries. The nonwage or nonsalary income is difficult to obtain accurately for either individuals or families.
3. Total family income on a broad class-interval basis, the respondent being asked to specify which of a number of designated groups represents the closest approximation to his total family income.
4. Contract or estimated rent for all dwelling units (or value for owner-occupied units), an index less useful than formerly, since the relationship between rent (or value) and income for many families is greatly different from what it was prior to the war.

Of further interest is the report that the planning of inquiries concerning the labor force "will be made with due regard to the problem of international comparability."

It is pointed out, however, that the comparability of our 1950 census statistics on working population with those of other countries "cannot be determined definitely until we learn more about the plans of other countries."

A WORLD DEMOGRAPHIC YEARBOOK

THE Population Commission, completing its third session at Lake Success the last week in May, approved final plans for a United Nations Demographic Year Book with a program for migration studies. World-wide population data will make the new yearbook the most comprehensive collection of information ever planned in this field. It is expected that the first issue, which should appear before the end of the year 1948, will cover at least thirty-four topics, falling in the following general categories: (1) area and population, (2) economically active population, (3) international migration, (4) natality, (5) mortality, (6) morbidity, and (7) marriage and divorce. The *United Nations Bulletin* contains the following report of this important meeting, which dealt in some detail with migration statistics and studies:

Data on unemployment and social and occupational diseases were also recommended. Many countries do not have such detailed information. While recognizing this, the Commission was anxious to extend the topics listed in the Year Book to as many countries as possible. It realized that some member governments face grave difficulties in the fields of vital registration and census taking, but expressed the hope that the Demographic Year Book of the United Nations will itself act as a stimulus for the provision of more extensive and reliable information. It may also encourage the use of more uniform standards in the tabulation and publication of statistics.

The Commission recognized that statistical data cannot be as adequate for, say, New Guinea or Manchuria as for most European countries. The Commission therefore urged that, where statistics are found to be limited in value, or seriously defective in comparability, the Secretary-General should request the spe-

cialized agencies concerned to initiate work with the object of providing adequate statistics.

Further study of world migration problems was another subject on which the Commission made important recommendations. The Commission adopted a work program on this subject which will fall under five main sections, the first of which would be the improvement of migration statistics. Migration statistics are imperfect and lack comparability, with the result that serious studies are greatly impeded. The Commission endorsed the recent recommendation of the Statistical Commission that the Secretariat should examine this problem with the International Labor Office and report to the Commission's next session.

A second aspect of the Commission's work program on migration is to analyze the size and structure of the populations in the countries of origin and destination. The Commission recommended that in this analysis attention should be given to the effects on the population as a whole; on the urban and rural populations; on the age and sex distribution; and on the rate of natural increase of the population. Special attention should also be given to shifts in the occupational distribution of immigrants, and to their economic status in those countries.

Economic and social factors affecting migration should also be studied, the Commission recommended. In this respect, attention should be paid to the study of the general economic level in the countries of origin; the national income and its distribution among the various segments of the population; employment and measures to promote employment; and the various systems of land ownership and agrarian relationships.

Finally, the Commission recommended an analysis of the impact on migratory trends of such factors as legislation, restrictions on various types of immigration, and the civil and social rights of immigrants. As some of these questions involve considerable technical difficulties, the Commission suggested that the Secretariat should submit methodological studies to the Commission before embarking on substantive work.

The Commission recommended that the Secretariat should collaborate with the specialized agencies in carrying out this program.

In or around 1950, many countries propose to have a census of population. The Commission therefore studied the types of data which these censuses should endeavor to obtain. The comments from member governments were considered and several recommendations were made.

In considering census plans, the Commission emphasized the importance of including population classifications by economic characteristics. In this connection, the Commission noted the progress made by the Statistical Commission and the International Labor Organization in the development of international standards for industrial and occupational classifications. Corresponding standards were needed regarding the definitions of industrial status (employees, employers, workers on their own account, and unpaid family workers). The Commission therefore requested the Secretary-General to take whatever measures might be practicable to develop such standards for use in population censuses.

Other recommendations approved by the Commission dealt with the study of the populations of trust territories, technical assistance on demographic aspects of economic development, a proposal for a United Nations conference on world population problems, and the study of infant mortality statistics. The Commission will hold its next session in Europe, between May and July, 1949.

THE F.A.O. IN WASHINGTON

LATE this spring at the meetings of the Food and Agriculture Organization in Washington, Sir John Boyd Orr, "veteran authority in agriculture" and long known as one of the world's great nutritionists, who gave distinction to F.A.O. as its first director-general, retired to be succeeded by an American—Norris E. Dodd, of Oregon, formerly undersecretary of agriculture.

However, in retiring, Sir John Orr issued an interesting statement. He had once said that it would be a miracle if F.A.O. succeeded in its efforts. "Now," he said, "that miracle is taking place." "When we warned governments of the gravity of the world food situation," Sir John Orr continued, according to the report in the *United Nations Bulletin*, "and when we suggested that they must set up an international organization with representatives of governments who could speak for and commit governments, I was told that the governments would not respond. The governments did respond and came to the conference in Washington. . . ." That conference was a great success and the International Emergency Food Council was

set up. If F.A.O. had done nothing more than this, Sir John Orr thought that "all the money that had been spent on it was well worth while." Discussing the many other things that had been done, he said:

"More timber is coming into Europe today than would come if it had not been for the action taken by FAO, first by itself and then in collaboration with the Economic Commission for Europe. There are plans for the Middle East which, if approved, will lead to increased food production on many thousands of acres in 1949. We have a hundred technicians in undeveloped and war-devastated countries, sent at the request of governments to help them produce more food. These plans will yield increased food in 1949 and 1950 and will develop . . . into an organized and planned world food production scheme."

Declaring that nations must co-operate or drift into war, Sir John Orr emphasized that through FAO large and small nations are co-operating in a basic principle for preserving peace by providing more food for the people of the world. "In Europe," he said, "ministers from both the east and west sit together to consider how they can develop their resources and alleviate the terrible sufferings of that continent. In Cairo, the nations are around the conference table co-operating together. In Asia it is the same story. In Latin America, that great continent which is a reservoir of increased food production, I hope the same kind of meeting will take place . . . within a few months."

"Co-operation is not in regions alone. Here, around our council table in Washington, government representatives are not talking about war, or thinking about war. They are planning for the greatest movement for peace-increased food production, the strengthening of agriculture, and food for the people of the world. More and more nations wish to co-operate. . . . I am convinced that within a year or two all nations will be here. It is through this co-operation of nations in FAO that . . . we have the only hope of world peace."

THE LAST U.N.R.R.A. REPORT

A LONG-DELAYED twelfth and final report on the work of U.N.R.R.A. (Department of State Pub. 311) was sent by the President to the Congress early in the summer. The period covered includes only the

three months preceding June 30, 1947, when the last American-financed shipments were going to Europe.

U.N.R.R.A. had then completed its major operations, had committed 98.6 per cent of its total funds, and had shipped nearly 95 per cent of its total supply program. Various U.N.R.R.A. activities had been transferred to other international organizations, and its only remaining activities were the shipment of its left-over supplies and the further transfer of such functions as might continue. At the time of the winding-up of its affairs, the forty-eight member-governments had provided U.N.R.R.A. with funds of nearly \$3,700,000,000, with an additional \$4,700,000 in the process of becoming available, and another \$12,500,000 contributed by nonmember-governments. In addition to these funds U.N.R.R.A. received from member- and nonmember-governments commodities which were worth about \$14,500,000 and local currencies amounting to an equivalent of \$64,500,000, which latter sum included currencies made available by the military governments. Of great value also were the contributions from private sources of cash and commodities with a total value of more than \$214,000,000. All types of contributions from all sources finally brought the total resources of U.N.R.R.A. to \$3,998,418,839—of which 98.6 per cent had been committed by June 30, leaving a balance of \$53,195,815.

The transfer of U.N.R.R.A. functions went on slowly. The displaced-persons operations went to the International Refugee Organization. Advisory services in the field of health went to the World Health Organization and in the welfare field to the United Nations. The International Children's Emergency Fund took over the work of providing supplementary food supplies and other care for mothers and children. The providing of agricultural-rehabilitation services for seven recipient countries in Europe went to the Food and Agriculture Organization.

In addition, during the quarter, arrangements were largely completed for the transfer of U.N.R.R.A.'s functions with respect

to the supervision of the proceeds of sale of U.N.R.R.A. supplies in recipient countries.

The story of U.N.R.R.A.'s part in the repatriation of displaced persons began while the organization was in its last quarter and, with the assistance of the United States, United Kingdom, and French occupying forces in Germany and Austria, it made a final effort to encourage the repatriation of D.P.'s. In three months more than 44,000 D.P.'s were repatriated from Germany, over 8,000 from Austria, and about 4,000 from Italy and the Middle East, bringing the total to over 56,000. Following V-E Day a total of more than 7,000,000 D.P.'s had been repatriated from the four areas, with 6,000,000 of these leaving Germany alone. As of the end of June U.N.R.R.A. was providing maintenance assistance to over 642,000 people, most of whom were in assembly centers in Germany.

Any attempt to evaluate the work of U.N.R.R.A. is difficult. It was a new type of international organization attempting to meet emergency situations of many kinds in many countries. The *Report* notes the appreciation felt by receiving countries for the aid given them and the acknowledgment by all governments concerned of U.N.R.R.A.'s success in preventing starvation and economic collapse and in laying the foundation for postwar recovery. This U.N.R.R.A. program included five major commodity divisions—food, agricultural-rehabilitation supplies, industrial-rehabilitation supplies, clothing, and medical and sanitation supplies. The supplies were divided among the seventeen invaded countries (Albania, Austria, Byelorussian S.S.R., China, Czechoslovakia, the Dodecanese Islands, Ethiopia, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Korea, the Philippines, Poland, San Marino, Ukrainian S.S.R., Yugoslavia) which requested U.N.R.R.A. assistance and among a number of special and emergency programs such as amenity supplies for displaced persons.

The professional health and welfare services provided in accordance with the requests of the recipient countries were used particularly for the survey of nutritional, health, and welfare needs; the determination

of supply requirements in these fields; the restoration of health and welfare institutions; and the training of local personnel.

The large health program of U.N.R.R.A., which was integrated with its medical and sanitation supply program, was necessary to meet the dangers of epidemics resulting from the crowding of homeless persons into makeshift dwellings and the general scarcity of food, clothing, and medical care. The welfare activities were especially requested for child care. U.N.R.R.A.'s health and medical programs were probably responsible for the fact that no great epidemics occurred after the war, although it is noted that "diseases due to malnutrition and poor living conditions still exist and are on the increase, particularly tuberculosis, hunger edema, and anemia." To prevent typhus, large quantities of 10 per cent DDT powder were supplied to many recipient countries. To check cholera, supplies of vaccine for mass immunization and of chemicals for water purification were flown over to China. Plague was controlled in Europe by means of an antirat campaign. To prevent diphtheria, the leading epidemic disease in many areas, U.N.R.R.A. supplied great quantities of diphtheria toxoid for immunization and of antitoxin for treatment. Tuberculosis was the most serious postwar health problem. Surveys were made in many countries, and assistance given in the restoration of tuberculosis institutions. To check malaria, the new method of spraying with DDT solution was used in many areas, especially in Italy and Greece.

There is an interesting section on child care since requests for aid in meeting the needs of children were very insistent. There were supplementary child-feeding projects, and in most recipient countries U.N.R.R.A. assisted with programs to meet the housing problem for the great numbers of orphan and homeless children. The U.N.R.R.A. staff provided modern child welfare information and services to children in institutions and foster-homes and was responsible for the planning of camps and colonies for children. In Greece 200,000 children, in Italy 400,000, and in Poland 500,000 were

cared for in such camps and colonies. In almost every U.N.R.R.A. receiving country the proceeds from the sale of U.N.R.R.A. goods were used to finance child welfare programs.

Another important section deals with the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped. Large numbers of persons suffered from physical handicaps as a result of the war. In Poland, for example, more than 120,000 of its citizens were said to be permanently crippled and more than 350,000 seriously crippled. Many children lost arms and legs. U.N.R.R.A. helped to develop programs for the rehabilitation of maimed and crippled adults and children. Training in plastic surgery and supplies of artificial limbs were provided.

The *Report* properly notes as one of the great achievements of U.N.R.R.A. as an international organization its successful administration by and through an international staff. At its peak on June 30, 1946, approximately one third of its 12,900 international employees were United States nationals, another third nationals of the United Kingdom, and the remaining third were nationals of fifty-two other governments. Headquarters at Washington were staffed largely with Americans, who accounted for almost 87 per cent of the staff of 1,823 people. Canadians accounted for almost 7 per cent of the headquarters staff, and United Kingdom nationals for more than 2 per cent. In the European regional office at London, which was responsible for procurement in Britain and on the Continent and for supervision of the operations in Europe and the Middle East, the staff was largely British.

Altogether this is a story worth telling—and remembering—and social workers may well feel great satisfaction about their part in it.

CONGRESS AND THE D.P.'S

ALTHOUGH the Congress finally passed the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, there has been much public expression of dissatisfaction with the provisions of the

new law. However, it is important to remember that the total number of D.P.'s to be admitted for the next two years equals the biennial admissions provided in the original Stratton bill, and there is much reason for satisfaction as far as numbers are concerned. That is, the act provides for the admission of two hundred thousand D.P.'s in two years, plus three thousand orphans. And it permits fifteen thousand who are here on temporary admissions to remain. But whether the bill will make it possible for the two hundred thousand to come is questioned

With strings attached



by many of those interested. The criticism of the Act has been that "race and religious discrimination" have been written into American law. This complaint comes from the fact that the act provides only for the admission of D.P.'s who were in the camps on or before December 22, 1945. This provision is said to exclude a substantial number of Jews and Catholics who reached the camps after that date. Unfortunately there are political considerations entering into this question during the current year. Accurate information is difficult to get showing how far the proportion of Jews and Catholics may have been different before December 22, 1945. It is said that this provision will exclude ten to fifteen thousand Jews who fled from pogroms in Poland in

1946. Similarly many Catholics are said to have found refuge from the "Communist persecution" in these camps after the date fixed by Congress. The date that should have been used was April 21, 1947, when General Clay closed the D.P. camps to new admissions.

According to the account in the *New York Times*, the American Jewish Congress asked President Truman to veto the bill on the ground that it set "almost insuperable obstacles to the admission of any substantial number of those it intended to benefit." By "piling restriction upon restriction," the organization charged that the bill had made it impossible to give relief to anything like

the total of more than two hundred thousand theoretically to be admitted. In a letter to the President, Rabbi Irving Miller, of the executive committee of the group, is reported to have said: "The Displaced Persons Bill betrays American principles, American promises of aid to the homeless abroad, and the American dead who were led to believe that their victory would mean an end to Hitlerism, and should not become law."

The act further provides that 30 per cent of the D.P.'s admitted must be farmers, and that 40 per cent must be from eastern Poland and the Baltic states. The act also requires that the D.P.'s who are allowed to



enter here must have jobs and homes already provided in advance.

A three-day conference in Chicago attended by some sixty immigration officials from all parts of the country discussed methods of carrying out the new act, and Watson B. Miller, commissioner of immigration and naturalization, is reported to have estimated that, of the two hundred thousand displaced persons eligible to enter the United States under the new act, only fifty thousand could be accommodated in the next year. The commission thought that it would take about six months before the movement of the D.P.'s could start, which would mean that three-quarters would come here during the second year of the program. Mr. Miller said that a board would be set up, probably at Hamburg, to screen D.P.'s applying for United States refuge. An information commission then would be set up to assign them to various places throughout the country, but details are yet to be announced.

Therefore, by way of summary, it may be said that, although the provisions of the law are disappointing, at least some progress has been made. There is now provision for the admission of the numbers provided for in the next two years in the more generous Stratton bill, and there is time for a new Congress to act if the present law proves to be unworkable or inadequate. In the meantime those who hold the belief that the "right of asylum" is one of our cherished traditions must be disappointed that the act is not more liberal.

THE DECLINE IN THE DIVORCE RATE

THAT the American divorce rate took a deep dive in 1947, the first decrease from a previous year since 1932, is discussed in some material issued by the Family Service Association of America. This decline in the divorce rate is commented on in a statement regarding a nation-wide survey made by the F.S.A.A. among family service agencies. The material notes the "passing of the peak of marital breakdowns" resulting from hasty

and ill-considered wartime marriages and a "general readjustment to more stable peacetime living" as the reasons for the decline in divorce most frequently mentioned by the family service agencies in eighty-nine cities.

The 450,000 divorces reported in this country in 1947 showed a decline of 26.6 per cent as compared with the 613,000 of the previous year. The National Office of Vital Statistics reported that the crude divorce rate last year was 3.1 per 1,000 population as against 4.3 in 1946. But in spite of this decline, the number of divorces per thousand of population is higher than in 1944. Further, the 1947 rate is 55 per cent greater than that of 1940.

The family service agencies were in agreement, however, that the general decline in divorce in one year should not in itself be considered a measure of an increasing strength of marriage in the country.

Some other interesting sections of this material are given below:

"High divorce statistics are no more a true barometer of marital unhappiness and family instability in the United States than low divorce rates are an accurate measure of marital success," [the general director of the F.S.A.A. said]. "Of far greater importance than the number of divorces is the prevalence of conflict between ill-mated or ill-adjusted couples in a large number of American homes—whether or not such conflict is finally recorded in the divorce rate. Continuing dissension between marriage partners and members of families not only warps and embitters personal living but produces grave and costly social problems outside the individual homes. We must be most concerned by the effect on the children involved of internal warfare in the home. This is the primary breeding ground of distorted personality, emotional unbalance, delinquency and crime."

Of the 89 cities reported in the survey, 73 had a decline in the number of divorces granted in 1947 as against 1946, while 16, contrary to the general trend, showed some increase. . . .

Although family service agencies most often assigned the decrease in 1947 divorces to their belief that the peak of breakdowns among war marriages had been passed and that "most couples have readjusted to peacetime living," they offered various others reasons for the de-

cline. For example, that couples undertaking marriage since the war are more mature and better prepared for marriage and that education for marriage and parenthood had increased during the last few years. In some cities "an easing of housing conditions" was considered an important factor in the divorce decline. Other agencies found the high cost of living a divorce deterrent because "people have less money to finance divorce." A number of agencies also expressed the belief that "with less opportunity for women to work since the war's end, more are staying home, with resulting improvement in home life." Two agencies sensed a more serious approach to marriage on the part of many couples, with a greater effort to work through their problems.

In the 16 cities where divorce rates continued to soar in 1947 the family service agencies most frequently placed blame on "unsatisfactory housing or lack of it." Next in frequency they mentioned a "continued high breakdown in hasty war marriages." An equal number cited the "difficulties of veterans in readjustment to marriage after absence in the service," and "difficulties in stretching income to meet high living costs." In five cities agencies found as a factor the "difficulties of readjustment on the part of women who enjoyed wartime independence."

Unusual population growth in some cities had considerable bearing on the increase in divorce in these communities. Among other influences the agencies named "continued high income making divorce possible," "personality problems in marriage partners," "more general acceptance of the idea of divorce," "jobs more difficult to find and desertion therefore more frequent," and "general anxiety resulting from the world situation and fear of war."

One promising indication revealed by the survey was that an increasing number of married couples are seeking expert help when marital difficulties threaten the home. . . .

Although the divorce rate may decline still further in the next few years, it is expected to remain above the pre-war levels. Excluding the effects of cataclysmic world events, what can be done over a period of years to lower the incidence of divorce? Recognizing that there is no single answer to the question, the family service agencies gave greatest emphasis to "extension of premarital education and counseling." In other words, first efforts need to be made toward thoroughly preparing young people for responsibilities of marriage and parenthood so as to re-

duce the number of hasty or uninformed ventures into marriage. But almost equally they stressed the need for "greater use of family counseling services when couples encounter discord," not only to better the relationship between husband and wife, but also to insure the healthful emotional and physical development of children in the family.

Next in frequency the agencies urged "adequate housing" and "more economic security" as basic conditions for lowering the divorce rate and achieving greater stability in marital relationships. More than two-thirds of them also agreed on the need for "greater emphasis by all social forces and institutions on the values of home life."

The results of this survey of the F.S.A.A. should be interesting to all social workers.

SALARIES IN FAMILY SERVICE

DATA as to the salaries of social workers are always important. There are now available¹ reports from 161 family welfare agencies showing salary ranges and actual salaries for professional positions.

The following summary shows certain salary data for different positions as of January 31, 1948:

Caseworker.—Slightly more than half of the reporting agencies have established ranges for the position of caseworker. Of these, two-thirds have adopted a minimum of \$2,400² or higher for caseworkers who are graduates of schools of social work. In general the range for the position is narrower than recommended, for the median maximum was \$3,600, in contrast to the \$4,300 maximum suggested by the Personnel Committee. Several agencies have, however, set their maximum at \$4,300 or higher; in one instance at \$5,000.

¹ The Family Service Association has published a useful statement for which their Information Service collected data from the 1947 yearly reports of F.S.A.A. private member-agencies. A detailed report has been issued and may be ordered from the association: *Salary Ranges and Actual Salaries for Professional Positions* (Family Service Association of America, April, 1948, pp. 27, 40 cents).

² This figure was proposed by the F.S.A.A. Personnel Committee in 1946. *Classifications of Professional Positions in Private Family Agencies* (Family Service Association of America, November, 1946, 40 cents).

The median salary received at the end of January by approximately 900 caseworkers (school graduates) was \$2,927. Forty-four per cent were paid salaries of \$3,000 or over. Ranges and actual salaries tended to be higher in the Middle West than elsewhere, and tended to fall below the average in the West and in the South.

Casework supervisor.—The position of casework supervisor was found in about 40 per cent of the reporting agencies, and salary ranges for the position had been established in about half of the agencies. Again, in this position, the minimum salary of \$3,300 recommended by the Personnel Committee in 1946 had become the median minimum, but the maximum of \$7,000 had not been commonly adopted. The median maximum was \$4,140, with only one agency reporting a maximum of \$7,000. Actual salaries paid to casework supervisors in 57 agencies ranged from \$3,000 to \$6,000, with a median of \$3,900. Salaries, which were higher in the Middle Atlantic region than in other sections, varied directly with size of agency staff, with a median of only \$3,300 in agencies with not more than five professional positions, and of \$4,900 in agencies with 15 or more professional positions.

Executives.—Salary ranges for executive positions are reported to have received less attention than those for other professional staff positions. In spite of the fact that each of the reporting agencies had an executive position, only 39 had adopted a minimum and only 30 a maximum for the position. The median minimum was \$4,000, rising from \$3,600 in agencies with not more than five professional positions (Group I) to \$5,750 for agencies with 15 or more staff positions (Group IV). The median maximum was \$5,000, again varying with size of agency.

Actual salaries, reported by 151 agencies, showed a median of \$4,250. The salary fell below \$4,800 in about a third of the agencies, between \$3,800 and \$5,000 in another third, and at \$5,000 or over in the remainder. The median for Group I was \$3,600, the salary suggested in 1946 by the Personnel Committee as the minimum for this group; for Group II (6-10 positions), \$4,800; for Group III (11-14 positions), \$5,325; and for Group IV, \$7,000.

While only one-fourth of the executive positions in agencies with not more than 10 professional positions were held by men, nearly half of the executives of the larger agencies were men. Not only did executive salaries tend to rise with size of staff, but in agencies of similar size, the salaries of men executives averaged consider-

ably higher than the salaries of women executives!

THE CHILDREN OF EUROPE

THE United Nations "appeal for children" has been referred to as the 26-in-1 appeal since it was sponsored by the American Overseas Aid as a joint appeal with twenty-five other welfare agencies engaged in overseas work. Unfortunately, at the time we go to press, the appeal has not met with the hoped-for response, and less than a fifth of the \$60,000,000 which, it had been hoped, could be raised by the appeal has been given.

The *New York Times* said editorially:

There is nothing wrong with the American heart. There must be something wrong in the organization of this drive. Some people may have thought enough was being done by governments, which is not the case. Some may have been confused by the association of the appeal for children with the general appeal for overseas aid. We believe there should now be a concerted drive for the children alone. There can be no secure peace, as General Eisenhower said . . . , while half the world's children are hungry and "searching for the garbage heaps." These, if they live, are the world citizens of tomorrow. Those who do live will not grow up to be admirers of this great democracy if we turn our backs and fail to help them now.

The national head of the United States campaign is reported to have said that he thought "the poor response of the American public could be attributed largely to the average citizen's 'apathetic attitude toward relief-drives'—even those for the benefit of undernourished children. With the end of the war," he said, "a misconception that 'relief' was over has arisen."

It has been reported that the executive board of A.O.A.—U.N.A.C. agreed to relax the restrictions that had barred either U.N.A.C. or the twenty-five welfare agencies for foreign work of A.O.A. from making independent collections. Under this plan the twenty-six organizations would be free to collect whatever funds they might be able to raise privately in cities where the joint

The Race Eternal



A.O.A.-U.N.A.C. drive had failed of its goal. It was clearly hoped that the more than two thousand separate campaign committees in different parts of the country would be able to meet their quotas. However, the possibility of raising \$60,000,000 was said to be "very small." It was further reported that the United Nations officials had been concerned "over the poor progress of the United States campaign. While the national drives in each country were geared to begin simultaneously in February, the United States campaign did not get under way actively until April 23. In most of the European and Asiatic countries, emphasis was placed on the collection of 'one day's pay' from every citizen on February 29—the extra day in 1948. The United States, however, had not fully organized its thousands of community-collection depots by that date."

Later the *New York Times* reported that a movement was "under way to discard the unsuccessful privately run United States campaign for \$60,000,000 aid to needy children of the world and to replace it with a special United Nations drive, beginning perhaps on United Nations Day, October 24."

Following the announcement in the *New York Times* that the joint appeal of the American Overseas Aid-United Nations Appeal for Children had so far brought in less than \$12,000,000, falling short of the nation-wide goal by more than 80 per cent, officials of the coordinated campaign confirmed that they had been conferring with the State Department on the matter.

The State Department originally approved the arrangement under which twenty-five private organizations merged for purposes of the children's campaign into the American Overseas Aid, were to raise the \$60,000,000 that was to be the mainstay of the international organization's global drive.

It is the State Department that can now clear the way for the United Nations to appeal to the American people directly rather than through private organizations. The United Nations is convinced that the American people want to give full support to the world-wide drive and have failed to do so principally because machinery for an effective appeal as well

as an efficient system for collection have been lacking.

It has been disclosed that the American Overseas Aid organization, in view of the certain failure of the United States campaign was greatly curtailing its activities and cutting down its headquarters staff. . . .

The twenty-five private agencies including such organizations as the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), American Relief to Italy, AFL Labor League for Human Rights and the War Relief Services of the National Catholic Welfare Conference were, it was said, to be permitted to undertake separate collections for child relief. They would act independently of the United Nations Appeal for Children campaign, and each group would continue to earmark part of its independent and local collections for the benefit of the global fund.

This breakup of American Overseas Aid, according to a statement released by Dr. Aake Ording, director of the United Nations Appeal for Children, "has led to suggestions that a separate drive for UNAC also be undertaken." Whether or not this was done, Mr. Ording continued, depended entirely on the American people, as the world-wide appeal was a "voluntary and non-Governmental effort organized in each country by the people themselves."

The failure of the United States campaign is in sharp contrast to the collections raised to date in other countries—even countries whose own children are in need. It was recalled that Dr. Ording had complained recently that the people of the United States were anxious to do their share but that there was a "discrepancy between the public desire and machinery to utilize it."

"Every day we meet people who say they are eager to do their part, but where are the channels?" Dr. Ording said. In this connection a representative of a group of office girls called the United Nations bureau of the *Times* to ask just where they should mail a \$20 check for the United Nations drive. . . .

Commenting on the record of the United States campaign, which had been so disappointing, Dr. Ording declared that there "can be no doubt of the generosity of the American people, of their special interest in needy children and of their desire to support the United Nations." Difficulties in collecting funds were created, Dr. Ording thought,

by the organization for collecting funds in this country, so that all contributions to the United Nations for children were solicited by a joint organization of twenty-five other foreign relief agencies.

"It was difficult to emphasize the United Nations aspect of the appeal," Dr. Ording said, "because the structure of the campaign was that of a joint effort."

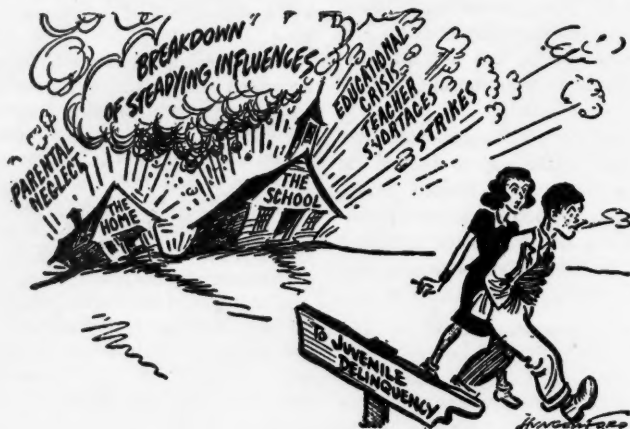
CHILD LABOR VIOLATIONS

FOR having "knowingly employed" child labor in violation of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, four firms and individuals were assessed \$14,850 in liquidated

at the rate of \$10 per day for each day of such employment.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION IN ALL STATES

MISSISSIPPI, the last state to enact a workmen's compensation law, finally put on the statute-books this spring an act which will become effective January 1, 1949. However, as the *Labor Information Bulletin* reminds its readers, the coverage under workmen's compensation legislation in the other states is not complete, and probably only about 50 per cent of our American workers are protected by these laws. For



Hungerford in The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

"The refugees."

damages owed to the government, according to four orders affirmed by the late Secretary of Labor, Lewis B. Schwellenbach.

According to a report in the *Labor Information Bulletin*, the violations were disclosed through inspections by the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts division, after which the assessment orders were issued by the administrator, William R. McComb. The Public Contracts Act, applying to government contracts in amount over \$10,000, provides that employers who "knowingly employ" boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen in the filling of such contracts must pay to the government liquidated damages

example, certain occupational groups are excluded, such as farm and domestic workers. Also in some of the acts employers with fewer than a specified number of workers are exempted or the acts apply only to listed hazardous employments. Many workers are not covered under elective acts if the employer decides not to accept its provisions. The *Bulletin* publishes a useful table prepared as of January 1, 1948, which shows the benefits in the different states for death and permanent disability. These laws, won slowly state by state, represent one of the great social welfare gains of the last thirty-five years.

But more important than compensation is the prevention of accidents; and there will be general interest in the President's National Conference on Industrial Safety, to be held in Washington in September, in which management, labor, and other interested groups will participate.

The *Bulletin* also reported that industrial publications throughout the country have been urged, at a meeting of thirty industrial editors arranged by the White House, to support the conference and to aid in accident-prevention efforts. The thirty attending represented the various associations of industrial editors. John R. Steelman, assistant to the President, presided.

The editors were told that the purpose of the conference was to stimulate more national interest in accident prevention. "We need a well-trained, adequate safety inspection staff in every State. We want to place the coordinated force of Government, management, and labor behind a program of safety education aimed especially at the small plants, where 70 per cent of all accidents occur. We want to reemphasize and revitalize sound safety programs in every business in the Nation. A safety committee in every plant is one of our goals."

THE RED CROSS AND JOINT FUND-RAISING

AT THE closing session of the national convention of the American Red Cross in San Francisco, a plea was made that the Red Cross continue its fund-raising and other activities independently—"much as we might like to help other welfare organizations out of their ditch," as one of the delegates commented. After a resolution was adopted at an earlier session saying that joint fund-raising campaigns were "not in the best interests of the American National Red Cross" and that "wherever possible separate and individual solicitation should be made in every instance," the delegates are said to have been told by Mrs. Elizabeth Pickett Chevalier, a well-known author and a member of the Red Cross board of govern-

nors that "we are going alone." The door was left open, however, for possible joint solicitation under some circumstances. For the resolution had said that separate solicitation in a given plant or industry might not be possible sometimes in a given locality. The board of governors was asked to "amend the present definition of joint fund raising in such manner as to permit any chapter to participate in a joint solicitation in such plant or industry under such regulations" as might be prescribed by the board.

The question of joint campaigns is reported to have been widely discussed within the organization for at least a year. Since some industrial establishments permit solicitation by welfare organizations among the workers within the plants only once a year, in those cases the Red Cross sometimes has not been able to seek funds from industrial workers on the job.

According to the report in the *New York Times*, "Mrs. Chevalier warned the delegates that a Red Cross chapter's program 'could be strangled, its usefulness ended, if outsiders unfamiliar with Red Cross work or unsympathetic to it' were permitted to 'pull these joint purse strings tight on us' through joint fund raising and payroll allotment."

"To argue that 'donor fatigue' is on the increase," she said, "does not necessarily mean that joint fund raising will check it. Donor fatigue is, I believe, a natural result of inflation. Most of us nowadays must find two dollars to do the work of one in 1939, and charity items are among the first to be cut when we are forced to pare our budgets."

Mrs. Chevalier held that it was the "inalienable right" of every American worker to "spend his or her pay check as each one personally sees fit."

She urged the delegates on reaching home, to "reflect the opinion which your joint board of governors showed last December when they voted, 32 to 8, against joint fund raising and involuntary payroll allotment."

The convention, calling attention to the use of reserves in recent years to meet Red Cross budgets, "despite drastic reductions already made," resolved that "the expenditure of every Red Cross dollar, both at national and chapter levels, should be carefully scrutinized."

"It should be the policy of the American Red Cross," the resolution went on, "to maintain the expenditure of those Red Cross dollars which set in motion a chain reaction yielding a maximum of volunteer service, training and participation. The expenditure of all other dollars should be, as far as possible, further reduced or eliminated."

NEW WELFARE PAMPHLETS

SOME interesting pamphlet material, reports, and briefer books that we have not had space to review have been received in the Review office. And we are glad to list some of them here for the benefit of our readers. One of these is the pamphlet "*To Secure These Rights*" in *Your Community: A Manual for Discussion, Fact-finding, and Action in State and Local Communities*, June, 1948 (pp. 59), issued by the American Council on Race Relations, Chicago, which has now very appropriately moved into quarters in the old home of Julius Rosenwald vacated after the Rosenwald Fund came to an end. This publication is based on the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, which is one of the important recent public documents. It is "a reaffirmation, for our day, of the American Creed. It offers a judicious and well-supported appraisal of our assets and liabilities, of our achievements and our failures in the never-ending struggle for a fuller realization of the democratic dream." This pamphlet is a guide to be used by individuals and communities in the hope that the President's report on civil rights may be understood and made effective as widely as possible. The pamphlet discusses civil rights in regard to employment—job opportunities; housing—the right to compete freely for available homes; education—equal opportunity at all school levels; health service—equal treatment and facilities; welfare—equal social services; recreation—extension of fair play; voting—the right to the ballot; transportation, service in restaurants, and other public accommodations; law enforcement—adequate and impartial; and religion—freedom of worship.

Among other important publications that

have come in are the following: From the National Committee on Immigration Policy an interesting report on *International Migration and One World* (New York, 1948, pp. 107, \$0.25); from the Russell Sage Foundation, Department of Industrial Studies, *The Miners' Case and the Public Interest: A Documented Chronology*, by Edward A. Wieck, with an Introduction by Mary van Kleeck (New York, 1947, pp. 92, \$0.50); from the University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work, *The Selection and Admission of Students in a School of Social Work*, by Margaret E. Bishop (Philadelphia, 1948, pp. 58); from the Public Affairs Press, *Citizen Participation in Government: A Study of County Welfare Boards*, by Helen E. Martz (Washington, D.C., 1948, pp. viii+63, \$1.00).

Other similar publications include: *A Report on Hospital Care of the Negro Population of Atlanta, Georgia, 1947* (Atlanta Urban League, 1948, pp. 63); *Prejudice and Property: An Historic Brief against Racial Covenants*, by Tom C. Clark and Philip B. Perlman (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948, pp. 104 [paper], \$1.00). From the Family Service Association of America come three substantial pamphlets: *Professional Growth on the Job: A Guide for the Public Assistance Worker*, by Elizabeth Russell (New York, 1947, pp. 62, \$0.60); *Treatment Considerations in the Reassignment of Clients*, by Regina Flesch (New York, 1947, pp. 51, \$0.75); *Transference in Casework*, by Richard Sterba, M.D., Benjamin H. Lyndon, and Anna Katz (New York, 1947, pp. 51, \$0.75). *Community Organization: Its Nature and Setting* includes three papers by Kenneth L. M. Pray, Wilbur I. Newstetter, Violet M. Sieder, and is edited by Donald S. Howard (copies available from A.A.S.W., New York 10, N.Y.; Association for the Study of Community Organization, Detroit 2; Community Chests and Councils, Inc., New York 17, N.Y., pp. 28, \$0.25).

Also of interest are the following: *Transient Youth in California, A National, State and Local Problem: Report and Recommendations of the California Committee for the Study of Transient Youth, May, 1948* (pp.

48) (copies of this report may be obtained from the California Youth Authority, 315 South Broadway, Los Angeles 13, Calif.); *What Can We Expect of Rural Schools?* by Mildred Welch Cranston (New York: Woman's Press, 1948, pp. 45, \$0.35); *The Problem of Cerebral Palsy Today*, by M. A. Perlstein, M.D., prepared with the assistance of William McPeak, published by the association for the Aid of Crippled Children, New York City, and distributed by the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults, Chicago, Ill. (1947, pp. 57, \$0.25); from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc., *Statistical Abstract of Activities of JDC during 1947* (No. 2; April, 1948) (New York, 1948, pp. 41); from the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Eretz-Israel (Palestine), *Social Policy and Social Insurance in Palestine*, by I. Kaniewsky (June, 1947, pp. 45); *A Colloquium on Juvenile Delinquency and Its Socio-legal Aspects: Report of the Proceedings, New York County Lawyers' Association* (New York City, 14 Vesey St., 1948, pp. 87); from the Society for Research in Child Development, National Research Council, *The Impact of a Children's Story on Mothers and Children*, by Martha Wolfstein ("Modern Children's Stories: Research Study No. 1.") (Washington, D.C., 1947, pp. 54); *Recreation Today in Ohio: A Summary of the Findings of a State-wide Survey of Local Recreation Facilities and Programs*, by John M. Kahlert (Columbus: Ohio Welfare Council, 1948, pp. 16, \$0.25); from Russell Sage Foundation Library Bibliography (1) *A Checklist of Current Serials in Social Welfare*, compiled by Margaret M. Otto, (2) *Probation: A Selected Bibliography on the Individualized Treatment of the Offender*, compiled by Allan H. Wagner (New York, 1948, pp. 18 and 12, \$0.20 each).

Finally, some very useful material about "Nationality Problems of the Family and Related Matters," dealing with proposed changes in the naturalization law and nationality problems of children, has been issued by the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship, 1775 Broadway, New York (mimeographed, pp. 16, \$0.35).

FROM THE UNITED NATIONS

THERE were a few items from the United Nations, of interest to social workers, that arrived too late to be noted in the last number. It was reported that, as the meetings of the Social Commission drew to a close, questions of migration and advisory social welfare services were discussed as important questions of the session. The *United Nations Bulletin* noted as one of the "high lights" of the meetings that with regard to migration "the Commission made recommendations on the allocation of functions among various agencies. It also accepted a series of fundamental objectives for the United Nations on migration. These emphasized rational planning of migratory movements with maximum social, economic, and political advantage, the best conditions for organizing and financing such movements, the guarantee of equality treatment for migratory workers and indigenous population, and cultural aspects of migration." With regard to social welfare services the Social Commission decided to recommend that the Secretariat's program should be continued but that its emergency character should be emphasized.

Another item of interest is the first documentary film showing the work of the World Health Organization, especially in the field of epidemic control, which is now being produced under the auspices of the United Nations Film Board. Entitled *The Eternal Fight*, the film will show how the ever increasing speed of transportation has increased the danger of epidemics and how the work of medical men all over the world has developed means of control. Scenes for the film are being shot at Lake Success, W.H.O. headquarters in New York, Geneva, Paris, and Egypt.

Plans for a world university are also of interest. A report will be made to U.N.E.S.C.O. by the International Association of University Professors and Lecturers regarding plans for a world university which would link higher educational institutions in all countries. Such plans were discussed at a conference in Paris attended by professors and educational authorities of twenty-two

countries. The conference, which was sponsored by I.A.U.P.L., studied the establishment of an international universities bureau and also considered a proposal for a world organization of professors and teachers. There will also be a report to U.N.E.S.C.O. on another question studied by the conference—the equivalence of university degrees and school gradings.

BRITAIN'S "NEW LOOK" IN SOCIAL SECURITY

ALL social workers are interested in the new social security program in England and in the important acts that recently went into operation. On July 5 the National Insurance and the National Health Service acts came into force. These measures are said to be "derived in principle from the recommendations of the Beveridge Report." The insurance acts are based on long accepted principles of social insurance, now supplemented by the Family Allowances Act, 1945. The Health Service Act provides medical care for all who want it. This is an advance, especially for two classes—first, the dependents and children of those who were insured under the old schemes and, second, those persons in the middle-income brackets and their dependents and children who previously came under no schemes at all.

The series of acts that have been called "a new charter of social security" deal with social insurance, industrial injuries, a national health service, the care of children, and a scheme of national assistance for those in need. Great Britain may well be proud of the comprehensive system of public benefits and services that are now available.

A useful summary of the new acts, with brief sketches of their historical development, has been issued by the British Information Services.¹ Perhaps the most interesting of the new acts are the 1946 National Health Service Act, which finally came into operation in July of the current year, and the Children Act² of 1948. Many of us are

also especially interested in the Family Allowances Act of 1945,³ which has been in force since August, 1946.

"Within a year," we are told, "over 2½ million families were benefiting from [the Family Allowances Act] in respect of over 4 million children, and the number was still increasing."

"Under the Act a payment of 5s. (\$1) a week is made in respect of every child except the first under the upper limit of school age (at present his 15th birthday) or up to July 31 after his 16th birthday if he is still at school or apprenticed. . . . Family allowances are available for every family with children of the qualifying age, regardless of their wealth or social position, and are paid for out of taxation without any form of contribution from the family. They are, however, liable to income tax."

The British pamphlet notes that "much publicity has been given to the dispute between the Minister of Health and the British Medical Association over the terms on which the doctors would serve, but it is important to realize that there was practically no disagreement on the desirability of having a National Health Service."

The new service differs from and improves upon the old national health services in that, first, it is more comprehensive, since it is open to all, rich and poor, insured or not, on equal terms; second, the range of services is wider; and, third, "it is consolidated into a single system which will eliminate differences in the quality of service provided in different areas, yet with sufficient flexibility in structure to leave room for local initiative. Thus, while the Minister of Health is ultimately responsible for all services, the main part of the system, the family doctor service, is controlled by local executive councils; and the hospital service by Regional Hospital Boards (teaching hospitals by boards of governors), while the local authorities are still to be responsible for supplementary services such as midwifery and child welfare."

¹ 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.

² See this *Review*, XXII (June, 1948), 249.

³ *Ibid.*, XX (September, 1946), 424-26.

Other important details of the new service are as follows:

The Family Doctor Service aims at making available free of charge all the services provided by a general practitioner, including medicines. Everyone will still be able to choose his own doctor, and even for those entitled to free treatment for the first time, the only difference in the relationship between doctor and patient will be that the fees will now be paid by the Government—an important change, since the patient will no longer have to consider whether he can afford the treatment advised by the doctor. Dental services will be provided in a similar way, although at the beginning there will not be enough dentists to provide adequate service for everyone, and priority will be given to nursing and expectant mothers and young children; the schools dental service will, of course, continue. The standard of service provided will be high, but if a patient wants some form of special treatment not provided by the service he can still have it by paying a fee—and he can also, if he prefers, continue on the old fee-paying basis.

As part of the family or personal doctor service there is also provision for the development of health centers. These centers will be set up as soon as possible and will be equipped at public cost with everything normally needed for a health service short of specialist equipment; and a doctor in the scheme may use them instead of or in addition to his private surgery. They will also provide dental and clinical services, and it is hoped will be used as centers for health education.

Closely connected with these two services are the services to be provided by the local authorities for expectant and nursing mothers and young children. Many local authorities already provide excellent services of this type, and the object of the Act here is to bring all into line with the best; for the sake of efficiency they are now to come solely under the larger councils (county and county borough councils). These councils are also to provide a home midwife service, and are to extend existing schemes of health visiting to cover not only mothers and young children but all forms of sickness as well.

The cost of the new services is of general interest in this country. Excluding the new health service, it is said that the rest of the benefits will cost about £600 million (equivalent to \$2.4 billion at the current rate) dur-

ing the first year. Of this total sum, £454 million is for social insurance, £29 million for industrial injury benefits, £65 million for national assistance, and £60 million for family allowances. No comprehensive estimate is available yet for the national health service, but the probable cost for the first nine months is put at about £180 million. Of the total cost of the social service program, about one-half is met by taxes.

There are many echoes of the Beveridge Report. Everyone in Great Britain will now be insured, as the newspapers like to report, "from the cradle to the grave," and the statement is literally true since there is a maternity benefit before birth and a burial payment. The national insurance scheme is contributory. The old poor law is officially gone, but it survives in an emaciated form as the National Assistance Act, which also went into operation on July 5. That is, there is an attempt made to provide everyone with "minimum income security by means of self-help contributory insurance, and welfare and health have been accepted as a social responsibility to be paid for largely from taxation."

A SOCIAL WELFARE CONFERENCE IN ITALY

THE *Review* has recently received a copy of the proceedings of a conference¹—the first effort of its kind in Italy to get together persons of common interest working in the various branches of the social services—held in Tremezzo (Como) in the autumn of 1946. It was attended by representatives of major welfare, health, and educational agencies from all parts of Italy and by others from Switzerland, Belgium, France, England, and the United States. The conference was held under the auspices of the Ministry of Postwar Assistance,

¹ *Atti del convegno per studi di assistenza sociale. Sotto Gli auspici del Ministero Assistenza Post-Bellica, della delegazione del governo italiano per i Rapporti con L'UNRRA, e della Missione Italiana UNRRA. Milano: Dott. Carlo Marzorati Editore, 1947. Pp. xxiii+825.*

the Italian Delegation for Relations with U.N.R.R.A., and the U.N.R.R.A. Italian Mission. Co-operating in the organization of the conference were the Italian Red Cross; Pontifical Commission; Order of Malta; Communal Assistance Agency of Milan; provincial office of the national federation of maternal and child health agencies; Communal Office of Health and Hygiene of Milan; University of Milan; Catholic University; Italian Teachers Association; School of Social Work; National School of Industrial Social Work.

The program was divided into three weekly sessions, the first of which was devoted to social welfare and labor legislation, covering such subjects as public assistance in the United States; social assistance and social services in Italy; social insurance and compensation; provision for health and medical care; and labor legislation. The second session on infancy and child welfare included the physical and emotional development of children; services for dependent and neglected children; responsibility of the juvenile court (or court for minors); maternal and child health; services in the schools. The third session on postwar problems dealt with the care and rehabilitation of displaced persons, employment for veterans and refugees, immigration and emigration, housing, and education of welfare personnel.

Among the American participants were Miss Anna Sundwall, of Utah (regional welfare officer, U.N.R.R.A. Mission, Venice), who read a paper on "*Le Esigenze umane del bambino durante l'infanzia e la fanciullezza*" ("Basic Human Needs of Children and Youth"); Miss Phoebe Banister, of California (welfare director), Antonio Sorieri, of New York (deputy of the Bureau of Health and Welfare Services), and Louis Horwitz (welfare consultant), all of the U.N.R.R.A. Mission, Rome; and Michael Schapiro, of New Mexico (regional welfare officer, U.N.R.R.A. Mission, Milan). The Introduction to the volume, "*L'Assistenza sociale*," was written by Mr. Schapiro and Professor Francesco Vito,

of the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Milan. Mr. Schapiro also wrote the Introductions to the first two sessions, as well as directed these sessions and was largely responsible for promoting the conference.

In describing professional social service education it was pointed out that in Italy the need of training is more urgently felt, considering the lack of educational preparedness over a long period of fascism. It was recommended that existing schools be improved and strengthened and that the schools be urged to follow basic courses, although administratively autonomous. It was also recommended that legislation be passed to recognize legally the profession of social workers and to provide adequate schools for their training.

The conference passed a long series of resolutions including such subjects as the creation of a labor and social services ministry and the co-ordination on a local scale of the activities sponsored by this ministry; working out "immediately a social security legislation amendment" regulating the extension of social security services to new categories; asserting the right for every citizen in a state of need to be assisted; providing a juridical acknowledgment of the title of "social worker"; improving "adequately all Italian Under-Age Courts, mostly using specialized personnel; these courts must be active organizations, co-ordinating the various activities co-operating with the court, possibly following the example of the United States Probation System"; to have the "Human Rights Chart worked out in Paris include between human freedoms also that of emigration, and the emigrant's right to be protected by agreements between the States harmonizing and protecting the interests of the emigration and immigration countries"; and various other forward looking provisions.

On the whole the conference marked a notable step forward in a social welfare program for Italy for which the U.N.R.R.A. workers were in large measure responsible.

THE POSTWAR POSITION OF GERMAN WOMEN

A FORMER president of the German Federation of University Women and a leader in the women's movement in Germany before the war, Dr. Agnes von Zahn-Harnack has written an interesting short article dealing with the present position of German women for the *Journal of the American Association of University Women*. Dr. von Zahn-Harnack and her family were deeply opposed to nazism. One of her brothers was executed in 1945 as a participant in the July revolution; two cousins and the American-born wife of one of them met the same fate. Frau von Zahn-Harnack is now writing and speaking, encouraging women to take up their new civic responsibilities.

She writes that her horizon is limited because she lives in the British sector of Berlin and that she knows conditions outside this city only through the press, some correspondence, and occasional visitors from the Soviet, American, and French zones. Even in the four Berlin sectors things are not the same, and she modestly points out that her views can claim only a restricted validity.

She reports that class distinctions or differences of education between university women and women of "other ranks" are no longer so marked as they once were. "The educational level of our schools and universities has been appallingly reduced during the last fifteen years, and especially during the war." There are still the old universities, but new institutions of higher education "confer academic degrees without giving their students the prerequisite of a comprehensive intellectual foundation; on the other hand, vocations such as those of welfare workers and medical technicians have broadened their educational bases and have attained a level at least equal to that of the 'pseudo-academic' groups." She thinks it is important also to realize that for the last ten years all vocations were equally cut off from cultural contacts with the world and that there was a general leveling-down which

also included the academic professions. She thinks that it is important to bear in mind that the ratio of men to women in Germany is now approximately 100 to 160.

Dr. von Zahn-Harnack writes first about women under twenty-five. During the war years the women of this age group, married or unmarried, were drafted into the war service from their fifteenth year on, and there was continual interruption of education and vocational training. "Their work frequently overtaxed their strength, and that is now a heavy mortgage on our future." The old question as to whether the work they were doing was "in keeping with their social status" seems to have disappeared. But the author thinks that "havoc has been wrought on the minds and souls of these young people. Their idealism has been abused by National Socialism, and the disillusion they experienced has paralyzed their souls. Only a small section of them finds support in religion, the access to it having been barred to them."

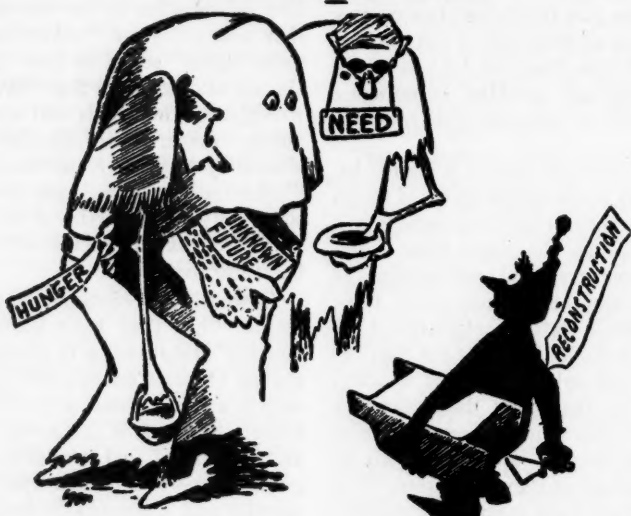
However, she points out that all of them realize "that they have learned little or nothing" and are eager to pursue university studies or other educational opportunities, such as evening classes and adult education schools. She finds in this group "skepticism and insecurity," and she thinks that "there probably exists a large substratum of women morally and economically uprooted." She reports that they are "never seen in meetings, but frequently on the streets at night and in the courtrooms, a postwar phenomenon that assumes particularly aggravated forms with a defeated and impoverished people."

Dr. von Zahn-Harnack finds the age group twenty-five to fifty most difficult to characterize. It includes women who were eighteen at the beginning of the first World War and others who were eighteen at the outbreak of the second. During that period "Germany experienced revolution, inflation, the pseudo-prosperity of the 1920's, a world-wide economic crisis, mass unemployment, and finally the hys-

teria of the Hitler years. To this group belongs the mother who has the entire responsibility for the family, who is under a terrific mental and physical strain; owing to the shortage of men she not only has to bring up and take care of her children, but also has to do all the rough work, from roofing and wood chopping to shoe repairing. Many of these mothers have lost both husbands and sons in the war." She thinks that the women of this group are "con-

ing. She thinks that the women of the working classes are standing on more solid ground than the group once called "middle class." The workingwomen have "a political home in socialism," but the middle-class women are "politically homeless, many of them economically and socially uprooted; they have only weak religious ties and whatever still exists of cultural values does not give them any compensation." The great majority of them are said to be very pessimistic, even

"THREE AGAINST ONE"



From "New York Times"

Schwaebische Landesszeitung (Germany)

sciously or unconsciously wrestling with the problem of guilt. They are torn asunder between self-defense, self-accusation, and the indictment of others, and therefore are unbalanced, bitter, and depressed."

Those women of this group who have strong occupational ties—among them numerous university women—are said to be the most fortunate. "They face their new tasks with initiative and determination." But there is a far greater number of white-collar workers who are unemployed or, for lack of better opportunities, engaged in removing the rubble or in the work of rebuild-

more so than immediately after the end of the war.

With regard to women over fifty she thinks that they have a firmer footing than those between twenty-five and fifty, "as they still live on the fund of education, culture, and character they were able to acquire before 1944. They are very much in the foreground of our meetings as well as in the denominational women's associations. But they naturally tend to overrate tradition. And there are exceptions, a thousand times—individuals who either live ahead of, or remain behind, their age group."

With regard to the women with academic training Dr. von Zahn-Harnack writes of the "poor situation and prospects of women theologians." The Third Reich did not give them any encouragement, "nor does the Protestant Church offer them a real chance." But this is a small group, and most of them are said to be assistant pastors, or they give religious instruction, or they teach in schools of social work.

With regard to medicine "the conditions are by far the best. Women were not excluded from medical studies by the Nazis. Nor were there any restrictions for practicing women doctors, as there was a great demand for them on the part of the National Socialist institutions such as the Mothers Service, and the Welfare and Labor Services. The influx of women was correspondingly great, particularly as compliance with the Nazi doctrines was not so rigidly required." Many women students continue to study medicine, but there are new restrictions because of the policy of several western universities "which have introduced a *numerus clausus* for women students in general or for those studying medicine in particular."

She thinks the *teaching profession* was "gravely prejudiced and damaged during the Third Reich, and even deprived of its dignity. The authority of the teacher was systematically undermined by the Hitler Youth." Teachers and students were used for war work, and regular class work was constantly interrupted. Moreover, in the teaching of some subjects "the strain on the conscience of instructors was very heavy so that they were exposed to almost unbearable scruples and conflicts," and the number of new recruits for teaching was small. "Even now only a small proportion of women students are willing to enter the profession as they are by no means sure whether the same difficulties will not arise again in some other form."

The legal profession, the report says, was almost entirely closed to women under the Nazis. Now there are in Berlin only twenty-three women attorneys and four or five with

legal training in "the higher administration."

The few women available in economics have been absorbed by social work. Only in isolated cases have women attained leading positions in management. Industries such as the press, publishing houses, the film, and the radio employ a comparatively large proportion of younger women, but prospects are unfavorable.

With regard to research the author reports that the Third Reich did not on principle bar women from scholarly research and university teaching. A few were appointed to professorships, "but only those whose outstanding scholarship made them indispensable and who had a high moral integrity were able to baffle Nazi pressure to make them join the party. The others, like their male colleagues, have been suspended from office." She thinks that, as a result of the general trend in the universities, it is "not to be expected that their gates will be wide open to women scholars."

With regard to organization among women, Dr. von Zahn-Harnack writes as follows:

In the trade unions, women are organized jointly with men, according to the occupation. Where a vocation is entirely or predominantly exercised by women, such as social work, it is difficult to get trade union demands recognized. It is too early to judge whether women's demands in "mixed unions" such as "equal pay for equal work" can be pressed home.

Municipal women's committees.—In all the communities of the Soviet Zone, women's committees have been set up, in which representatives of the four anti-fascist parties and women of no political affiliation work together. They have at their head a "central office" in the Central Administration for Education of the Soviet Zone of Occupation. Their work is social as well as cultural and economic. Their methods naturally are in keeping with that of the municipality to which they belong.

The denominational women's organizations were not dissolved in the Third Reich, but the scope of their work was extremely restricted and their active members lived in constant danger. Now they can freely work again, but they have had to hand over part of their former activities to the municipalities.

So far the only independent organization allowed in the British sector of Berlin is the Wilmersdorfer Frauenbund 1945, in Wilmersdorf. For those who are acquainted with the aims of international women's activities it may be sufficient to say that they work in accordance with the principles and objects of the International Alliance for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship. Under the present circumstances a separate organization for university women would be neither advisable nor possible. Other independent organizations have been set up in different cities of the British and American Zones, such as Hamburg, Munich, Stuttgart, and Frankfurt. Their working methods are practically identical with those of the Wilmersdorf association. In Stuttgart a local branch of the Women's League for Freedom and Peace has been founded.

NOTES FROM THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

VARIOUS items of news have been received from the schools of social work. The School of Applied Social Sciences of Western Reserve University announces the appointment of a new dean, Donald V. Wilson, A.M., School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, and LL.B. from the Western Reserve University Law School. He taught at the School of Social Welfare, Louisiana State University. Raymond Fisher and Saul Farber have been appointed assistant professors of group work. Robert Morrison, assistant professor of group work, leaves Western Reserve on September 1 to join the National Jewish Welfare Board, with headquarters in New York City.

Washington University reports that Miss Janet Tremaine has been appointed as a full-time staff member with the rank of assistant professor to teach courses in social case work.

The Division of Social Service, Indiana University, announces the appointment of Walter B. Johnson as an associate professor to teach courses in social research and to direct the student research program. Since 1940 Mr. Johnson has been with the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Federal Security

Agency as a public assistance analyst and most recently as an assistant regional representative. Indiana also announces that the Division of Social Service is sponsoring its second Annual Conference on Preprofessional Education for Social Work at Bloomington, Indiana, October 20-30. Teachers of preprofessional social work courses in any of the liberal-arts colleges in this region are welcome to attend this conference. The discussion leader will be Miss Margretta Frisbee, consultant on preprofessional education of the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

The University of California School at Berkeley will inaugurate a graduate curriculum in group work beginning in the September, 1948, term, with first courses including "Foundations of Group Work," "The Theory of Group Development," "Program-Planning Processes in Group Work," "Philosophy of Group-Work Organization." Field work will be offered in the group-work agencies of the San Francisco Bay area, and it is expected that a class of about twenty students can be accommodated during the first year. To teach the group-work courses and to develop the group-work curriculum, Gordon Hearn has been appointed assistant professor of social welfare. Mr. Hearn has worked with the Y.M.C.A.'s of Winnipeg and Vancouver, has had some settlement experience, and has had experience teaching group work at the University of British Columbia School of Social Work, Simmons College School of Social Work, Boston College School of Social Work, and Springfield College.

The University of Nebraska Graduate School of Social Work announces the appointment of Avis Kristenson as assistant professor of social work, with case work as her major interest. Robert Glass joins the Nebraska faculty as assistant professor of social work, with work in the fields of group work and community organization. Marian Lowe leaves the Nebraska school to join the faculty of the University of Connecticut School of Social Work.

The University of Michigan has added to

the faculty of its Institute of Social Work Leanore V. Gottfried as assistant professor of medical social work. Miss Gottfried has been chief of the Social Service Division of the Veterans Administration Hospital in San Francisco.

The University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work has announced the appointment of William D. Turner as dean of the school. Dr. Turner holds his A.M. and Ph.D. from Harvard University and has taught psychology at several different universities but left academic psychology for research positions at the Institute of the Pennsylvania Hospital and the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study, where he became interested in the basic problems of social work. For the last four years he has been a consultant on problems of supervision and administration in industry. His connection with the Pennsylvania School of Social Work began twelve years ago while he was on the staff of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

The secretary of the A.A.S.S.W. reports on the work of two committees trying to help some foreign schools. The Italian Social Service Correspondence Committee, which consists of a group of faculty members and former students and graduates of the New York School of Social Work, has been in correspondence with two schools of social work in Italy, in an effort to assist these schools with professional material and to establish contacts with the field of social work in America. The school in Milan is an independent school under the able direction of Dr. Lucia Corti. The school in Rome is attached to the University of Rome and is under the direction of Dr. Mario Ponzio, who is head of the Psychology Department of the university. The committee is trying to supply professional literature and books and periodicals for the libraries of these schools, which is one of the urgent needs.

There is also a Polish Social Service Correspondence Committee with Miss Hurlbert, New York School of Social Work, chairman. Correspondence is carried on with Madame Radlinska, director, School of Social Work, Université de L'État, Tribacka,

Lodz, Poland. Polish social workers visiting this country have expressed interest in any social work literature, particularly current material; books, periodicals, articles, etc., dating as far back as 1920, would be received with thanks. Since the war, the Polish social workers have been in need of social work literature, and any duplicate copies of books, magazines, or articles not in use may be sent to either committee or directly to these schools.

The first annual *Survey* award for "an imaginative and constructive contribution to social work" was presented to Dr. Howard A. Rusk for his outstanding work in translating into civilian life what was learned about rehabilitation in the armed forces. The award was presented by the *Survey Midmonthly* during the seventy-fifth Anniversary meeting of the National Conference of Social Work. Dr. Rusk was chief of the Convalescent Training Division, Office of the Air Surgeon, and from 1942 to 1945 worked on rehabilitation with men of the air force. He is now director of the Department of Rehabilitation and Physical Medicine, Bellevue Hospital, New York City; professor and chairman of the Department of Rehabilitation of New York University; and director of New York University's Institute of Rehabilitation.

During the past year the A.A.S.S.W. reported a total of 113 Fellows appointed under the United Nations Fellowship program. The Fellows came from the following countries: Albania 4, Austria 8, China 12, Czechoslovakia 14, Finland 6, Greece 16, Hungary 8, India 5, Italy 2, the Philippines 12, Poland 18, Yugoslavia 8. These students went to the following countries: Belgium 3, Canada 3, Czechoslovakia 4, Denmark 1, France 5, Sweden 9, Switzerland 7, United Kingdom 29, United States 52. Of the fields of observation designated by the approved candidates, 33 were in the field of child welfare—including maternal and child care, child guidance, juvenile delinquency, and other combinations including child welfare; 24 were in the field of vocational rehabilitation, including physical rehabilitation and

manufacture of prosthetics; 15 in general welfare, including administration; 10 in social insurance; and the other 13 were interested in observation of the employment service, social aspects of health, and public assistance.

Appointment of Evelyn Cochran as assistant professor of medical social work is announced by Tulane University School of Social Work. Miss Cochran was hospital supervisor, European Theater of Operations, with the American Red Cross, and has held important medical social positions. Freda Goldsmith, a graduate of Smith College School of Social Work, has been appointed associate professor of social case work. She had previous experience with the Jewish Board of Guardians, New York, the Detroit Public Welfare Department, and the National Refugee Service. Jane Dyer, assistant professor of social work, left the Tulane faculty and will be succeeded by Mrs. Enola Archinard, a graduate of the Tulane School of Social Work, who was a supervisor in the Social Service Department of Charity Hospital and who had other experience in New Orleans agencies. Irving Weissman, who received the M.A. degree from Washington University and the M.S.W. degree from the University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed professor of social research. His experience includes work with both public and private family agencies and as director of research in the St. Louis Planning Council. He comes to Tulane from the United States Children's Bureau, where he was director of the Guardianship Study.

Simmons College reports that Minnie E. Kelley has been appointed lecturer in child welfare and will have supervision of a new project organized in co-operation with the South End House in Boston in which a small group of students are introduced to generic social work on a neighborhood basis. This constitutes the school's first experiment in a field-work project supported by the school. Gilbert Krulee has been appointed special instructor in group work.

The Nashville School of Social Work announces the appointment of two new profes-

sors: William E. Gordon, Ph.D., Minnesota, where he also had teaching experience, and Mary Lois Pyles, M.S., New York School of Social Work, who has recently taught at the New York school and who has a background of several years of social work experience. Nashville also has appointed two new assistant professors: Pauline Lide and Jane Ann Epperson, both A.M. Chicago and with other academic qualifications.

THE A.A.S.W.

THE *Review* is glad to have the photograph of the president of the A.A.S.W. for the current number. Donald Howard, who has been with the Russell Sage Foundation for many years, has had a long-time active interest in the A.A.S.W. and has been a familiar participant at the delegate conferences. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, and our readers know him as a contributor to the *Review*.

Other A.A.S.W. officers include Frank Glick, of the University of Nebraska, as first vice-president; Rudolph T. Danstedt, of St. Louis, and Chester L. Bower, of southeastern Texas, as the other vice-presidents; with Esther Hilton, of New York, as secretary and Malcolm S. Nichols, of Boston, as treasurer.

A GREAT ARBITRATOR

PROFESSOR HARRY A. MILLIS, who taught labor economics at the University of Chicago, was known, with affection and respect, by many of the readers of this *Review*, as a great teacher and authority on labor problems. After he retired from his position as chairman of the Department of Economics in 1938, he became chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, where he carried heavy responsibilities during the war years. The *New York Times* recently said of him that he had been "a famous umpire between labor and capital for nearly thirty years."

... He served as chairman of the Trade Board of the men's clothing industry from 1919 to 1921 and was then chairman of the Board of Arbitration of the industry until 1923. He held

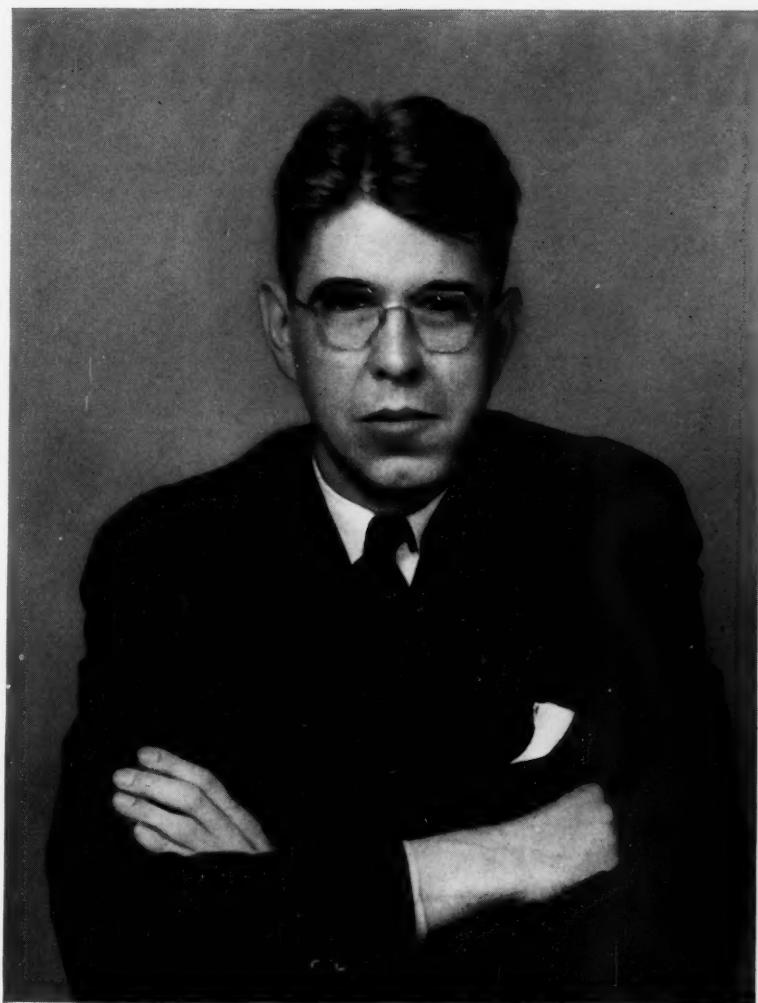
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DONALD S. HOWARD
President of the A.A.S.W.

the same post again from 1937 until 1940, and from 1945 until his death.

Dr. Millis was one of three men appointed to the National Labor Relations Board at its creation in 1934, but resigned in 1935. He was reappointed to the board as chairman in 1940 and served until 1945.

In 1938 he was appointed by President Roosevelt as a member of a three-man fact-finding board under the Railway Labor Act. . . .

When President Roosevelt made him NLRB chief, the *New York Times* said, "No one familiar with Dr. Millis' character and record will doubt his profound knowledge of labor problems and his freedom from entangling alliances with any interested groups. He is no academic theorist. His insight into industrial problems has come not solely from books but also from long acquaintance with human nature as revealed in industry. . . . Dr. Millis is a prodigious worker. No one has ever accused him of failing to get down to the brass tacks of any situation to which he applied himself."

The *Times* says of him further that as chairman of the N.L.R.B.

he faced a situation calling for quick, drastic action to quiet Congressional and other complaints about the board, which was then a source of bitter controversy between labor and management and between the AFL and the CIO. He acted swiftly and efficiently, instituting numerous procedural reforms, including the reduction in importance of the office of executive secretary and the cutting in half of the personnel of the review division.

His genius lay in upsetting as little as pos-

sible the status quo. In decisions between the CIO and the AFL he took the position that a history of craft bargaining should not be disturbed while the industrial organization of hitherto unorganized workers should be upheld. He was a strong believer in the forty-hour-week, although he recognized early in his administration that that might have to be modified for the American war effort, as it later often was, and he also believed in trade unionism, collective bargaining and the extension of social legislation.

In an editorial the *Times* said that Professor Millis was "an industrial arbiter whose every decision was so scrupulously fair that he was valued by labor and management alike. He understood the theory and practice of the labor movement as few men have done. An early believer in the forty-hour week for other people, he thought nothing of an eighty-hour week for himself. He had a passion for statistics as the basis of economic understanding. If he had an industrial case to arbitrate he would usually be found at some stage of the proceedings in the plant inspecting the machinery and talking with those who operated it, and he never for one moment forgot the human factor in all disputes. He had firmness, wisdom and humor. . . .

"If we had more such men industrial relations in the United States would be on a fairer, more human, more peaceful level. To the extent that his work is remembered, his influence still felt, they will be so."

BOOK REVIEWS

Psychotherapy in Child Guidance: A Study Based on the Practice of the Jewish Board of Guardians. By GORDON HAMILTON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. xxii+340. \$4.00.

At a decisive time Gordon Hamilton has made an eminent contribution to social work practice and to professional education. This book enters a scene in which a long-standing controversy still rages, though the reactionaries are fast being outnumbered. The dispute, starting in the early 1930's, is whether or not social workers can or should undertake direct treatment, through the interview, of people referred for or seeking help with emotional difficulties and personality problems rather than with their concomitant and resultant social problems.

As early as 1934 it was argued that if social workers are to do work of this nature they must have appropriate systematic training beyond that given in schools of social work. Hence, an accompanying issue has been what training and where it should be given. Those who regarded social workers as departing from their profession to become makeshift psychiatrists have argued for training in psychiatric centers rather than in schools of social work. In view of the fact that psychiatry through not officially sanctioning lay practice has averred that social work psychotherapists must work under the supervision of psychiatrists and not practice independently, this stand has validity. A professional school aims to develop leaders rather than practitioners subordinate in another discipline. Those who have seen psychotherapy as a valid extension of the social case workers' traditional function have contended for the assumption of educational responsibility by schools of social work.

As event has succeeded upon event to produce progressively more people deeply troubled but sufficiently enlightened to seek help, social agencies increasingly of necessity have shouldered responsibility for this work. It fast ceased to be an academic question as to whether or not social workers "could or should"; they were doing psychotherapy in large numbers, from the setting safeguarded with adequate psychiatric collaboration to agencies dependent upon

chance consultation in adjacent clinics. As this book left the press, several schools of social work were launched upon their initial venture of a third-year curriculum designed to meet the training demands of this group of practitioners, while several other schools had plans under consideration.

Miss Hamilton, not content to let the controversy hang fire and with realization of the importance of educational leadership within the field of social work in responsibility that was being undertaken by the profession, went to a social agency where psychotherapy was being done and where the staff shared her interest and concern in clarifying this problem. It was set as her purpose to explore the relationship of psychotherapy to social case work and to determine whether it might be "appropriately practiced in a social work rather than a medical setting, and if so with what safeguards and controls." Her findings constitute one answer to the controversy, for they support her conclusion that it can be done competently with appropriate systematic training and supervision. The work observed occurred in the context of an agency rich in the following resources adequate to support this pioneer venture, a long-standing record of well-trained and experienced social case-work and supervisory staff; an agency staff seasoned in the conduct of training programs; a staff of consultant psychiatrists and psychologists; several exceptional resources such as group-work projects, camps, and institutions to meet varying needs; finally and important, a philosophy that psychotherapy to be sound must be grounded on the bedrock of a tenable social reality.

This book is a major contribution to the field of social work far beyond its purpose of clarifying a specific controversy. Whether or not the mature social work practitioner or educator becomes a convert to social workers' being educated for psychotherapy as descriptively defined by Miss Hamilton, he will find much content for use in practice and in teaching. By skilled organization and through her usual perceptive thinking and distinguished writing, Miss Hamilton conveys: an appraisal of what experienced, trained social workers bring to

psychotherapy; a rich and detailed description of what more they need to know and of the systematic training involved; and finally the values of a social agency as a setting for the sound conduct of psychotherapy. The reader may conclude that a social agency may well be the most desirable milieu for its practice in that supportive measures for the provision of life conditions which facilitate progress can be drawn in readily as an integral rather than as an adjunctive part of treatment plans. In developing this content she formulates much knowledge as well as the working principles basic in diagnosis and in giving help which will be useful to any social worker who is dealing with people who have problems of emotional maladjustment. Through a penetrating exposition, Miss Hamilton imparts a rich content of personality psychodynamics, of psychopathology, and of therapeutic procedures.

The author begins with the thesis that "in therapy when change in the person is the chief aim, adequate diagnosis must be kept at the center of the process." There follow four chapters which are concerned with diagnosis, the first of which focuses on the process and conveys a body of knowledge in the development of the personality. The three succeeding chapters present personality distortions, through setting up three clinical types: "The Child Who Acts Out His Impulses"; "The Anxious Child"; "The Severely Disturbed Child"; this last chapter includes disturbance expressed psychosomatically, mental illness and psychotic episodes, obsessional and compulsive neuroses, psychopathic personalities and neurotic behavior. These chapters are notable for several reasons:

1. A great body of clinical knowledge is presented accompanied by brief case citations; these diagnostic entities are tellingly developed and made clear through a comparison of their differences and their common elements. The reader will experience the very essence of skilful differential diagnosis through the author's method of presentation. Each chapter concludes with a recapitulation in which major differences are summarized and general treatment implications presented. Each of these chapters dealing with a clinical type is sufficiently comprehensive to have warranted a monograph. Instead, Miss Hamilton has achieved three masterful thumbnail sketches, which are lucid without that simplification which spells superficiality.

2. The content of knowledge is significant for adult behavior as well as for children in that these distortions persist into adult life. Furthermore, the diagnostic method, defined as "a vertical as well as a horizontal process" which the reader experiences will be useful throughout his practice. Symptoms are viewed in the light of causes (present and past); timing, in relation to age and other life circumstances; mode of discharge and degree of behavior distortion.

3. The need for differential treatment becomes self-evident. The what and the how of treatment are nicely related to precise diagnostic understanding.

4. The placement of diagnosis at the center of the therapeutic process is particularly timely now, when many forces have combined to lead some social workers to scrap diagnosis and others, even those in the so-called "diagnostic group" to work by easy generalizations which approximate stereotypes. Knowledge of common human needs and of common ways of responding may serve as a rough guide, adequate in some of our work, but a great deal of responsibility in helping people through traditional social case-work services also requires knowing the individual precisely in terms of the personality structure, its adaptive mechanisms with differentiation of strengths from precarious defenses. From this standpoint this book will have wide usefulness for teachers and for experienced practitioners.

The section on treatment is patterned similarly and likewise presents concentrated knowledge skilfully organized. In the first chapter, direct treatment in the therapeutic process, psychotherapy is defined descriptively through presentation of its aims and methods. Among other contents there is a discussion of the major dynamics of growth and regression. Therapeutic measures throughout are oriented to the clinical types previously set up, and there is a final summary in which these therapeutic differentiations are recapitulated. There are well-selected examples throughout which show how feeling, thinking, and behavior may be changed.

There follows a chapter entitled "The Conditioned Environment," a discussion of the place of environmental modification in relation to individual psychotherapy. This is an able discussion in that principles for differential use of the environment are formulated, again oriented to the clinical types, with a summary in which the major considerations and principles are re-

stated briefly. The author moves next into four chapters, each of which considers treatment with reference to an age group. Here special problems and differential measures determined by the common needs and characteristic behavior responses in specific developmental phases are articulated. The significance of age stressed through the diagnostic discussion is re-emphasized. A chapter on the treatment of the family presents the dynamics of family life, the interplay of its members, and their meaning for the child as a determinant of differential treatment, its focus and emphasis. Again this is a portion significant to those who help people in the context of the family through traditional social case-work measures.

Educators concerned with training programs and practitioners measuring themselves for the responsibility of psychotherapy will have been anticipating eagerly the final pages on preparation for psychotherapy in social work. Throughout her discussion Miss Hamilton has indicated specific content of knowledge and skill essential for the work, notably, precise knowledge and understanding of personality structure in relation to diagnostic entities and to developmental periods; knowledge and understanding of psychopathology; knowledge, understanding, and skill in the management of the transference relationship; knowledge and understanding of the unconscious and skill "in working with it as it manifests itself in defensive structure and in projected forms." The final discussion therefore is a general summary statement. It presents the reasons why a broad social work education is an essential foundation for this specialized work. With the thesis that not every competent social worker with this background would have aptitude for psychotherapy, there is emphasis on natural gifts, which factor makes careful screening and vocational guidance an urgent need. Of psychoanalytic experience as preparation, Miss Hamilton states: "There is no reasonable doubt that a social worker will be better prepared to do therapy if he has been analyzed. He must have a trained self awareness—if gained without analysis this may be adequate—but the self awareness must be considerable." Strong social work supervision is stressed as being a highly significant element in the clinical field training. Miss Hamilton does not envisage social workers' learning psychotherapy direct from psychiatrists *apart from* social work supervision. This seems a decisively important safeguard against social workers' be-

coming makeshift psychiatrists. Only thus will psychiatry become a collaborative discipline rather than an adjunctive one in which social workers are lost to their own profession.

This is a book to be studied for use through careful application and testing of its knowledge and working principles. It will be valuable especially to teachers in social case-work courses and in courses in psychiatry for social workers for adaptive use with students at various stages of development. It will be an invaluable reference for advanced students and experienced practitioners. It is truly a concentrate made intelligible through skilled organization, a repetitive pattern which helps the reader attain orderly thinking. It is made intelligible also through professional writing at its best, writing which imparts basic substance, observations, and subtle distinctions, imaginatively and clearly. The properly oriented reader who brings to this work the serious intent which it merits will have a vital experience.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

University of Chicago

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work: Seventy-fourth Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California, 1947. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. xi+512. \$5.00.

This volume contains some 48 papers read at the San Francisco Conference. The editorial committee states that these were selected from 140 papers presented to the committee and that criteria used in selected papers were "historical importance, freshness of material, and current usefulness to the field of social work." The committee comments on the high quality of the papers submitted and on the difficulty of selecting those to be presented in this volume. A perusal of these 48 papers confirms the opinion of the editorial committee. They indicate much thoughtful effort on the part of the writers and in most cases are a real contribution to the field discussed.

This was Howard K. Knight's last conference, and tribute is paid by the committee to his skilled assistance in preparing these papers for publication. His "efficiency, experience and unfailing good humor lightened the burden of the committee at every point."

In reviewing this huge mass of material it is

difficult to know which of the outstanding papers to comment upon. Social workers will naturally peruse those papers most closely identified with their own fields. There are however a number of papers of general interest which should be read by anyone interested in the profession.

The general headings are "Science and Social Work," "International Aspects of Social Work," "National Economic and Social Issues," "Responsibility of Government," "The Citizen Organizes for Social Welfare," "Concepts and Trends in Case Work," "Particular Areas of Social Work," "Delinquents," "Aged," "Social Group Work and Recreation," "Education for Social Work," and "National Mental Health." These headings cover practically every phase of the field, and the papers give the reader a general view of the significance of social work and the most recent thought and experience in the various areas discussed.

Dean Arlien Johnson was president of the Conference and in her carefully prepared paper on "Science and Social Work" presents an overall evaluation of trends and relations which is a contribution to the whole profession. She discusses what she calls the three stages in the development of the profession and quotes from Dr. Edward T. Devine's *When Social Work Was Young* a passage to illustrate the inspiration of the early days of the field. Our predecessors were inspired to believe that "even ancient wrongs could be righted; that natural resources could be conserved and exploited for the common good; that the civil service could be reformed by competitive examination and a secure tenure for the competent; that international cooperation for the general good could be indefinitely extended; that education is the ultimate cure for everything that needs to be cured. This was the prevailing faith." The second stage she states was characterized by a growing self-consciousness and the evolution of a professional discipline primarily in the field of applying knowledge from the social sciences, especially psychiatry, to an understanding of personality. In the recently developing third period Dean Johnson finds that the concept of individual adjustment to existing conditions is recognized as inadequate. "Social work while retaining its competence in helping the individual, has embraced the idea that only through mass welfare can the individual find proper conditions for growth and development."

The reviewer has been tempted to devote

too much space to Dean Johnson's unusually able paper, although it has already been published in this *Review*.¹ However, there are at least a half-dozen more which should receive some comment, and, as has been indicated, they all merit attention particularly from those who are in the same field as the writer of the paper. Certainly no reviewer can do justice to this collection of material even though space and time were available. The fields covered are as broad as the profession, and papers differ from somewhat esoteric professional discussions to interesting descriptions of experiments carried out in certain fields.

In reading these forty-eight papers one can but wonder what use is made of a well-printed volume with as varied material as this contains. There is a paper on the re-education of conquered people and another on functional versus "organismic" concepts of the social case worker's role. Perhaps no one reads all the papers except the members of the committee of the Conference assigned to select those to be printed and an occasional reviewer.

There may well be, for the committee which is considering the future of the Conference, a study in the use made of these attractive reports. Every social worker's office has a long row of them indicating the years since he entered the profession. One of the executives questioned recently regarding his use of the report frankly stated that he added it to his bookshelf. Another confused it with the Year Book and decided when questioned that it had not yet arrived until this reviewer dug it out of a pile of papers on his desk. A third, an executive of a small specialized agency, goes over the report carefully for articles in his field and then issues a bulletin to his member agencies calling their attention to articles they should know about. Another replied that the report was used primarily by students in schools of social work but had no evidence to that effect.

It may be well to question whether the very valuable material on all sorts of professional questions is reaching the interested public best by having it published in these attractive but expensive volumes with such a wide variety of subjects treated in so many different ways. Would there be a greater use of this material were small, cheaply printed pamphlets prepared in special fields and a small price charged to

¹ See this *Review*, XXI (September, 1947), 297-308.

cover costs? There are several articles in this volume on specialized fields of social work which could easily sell several thousand copies to students and practitioners, and there are other articles of a more general nature, and a few hundred copies might well meet the demand.

All this may seem rank heresy to the hundreds who admire their rows of Conference reports. However no one advocates printing these reports for library shelves. It is safe to assume that the broad use of these papers is the real objective of all members of the National Conference. Does the present method of distributing the carefully prepared articles annually submitted to the social workers of the country assembled in meetings best accomplish this result? Has anyone taken the trouble to find out what use is made of the reports? Can better methods of circulating this material be devised?

WALTER W. PETTIT

Ridgefield, Connecticut

Canadian Youth Commission Reports: Youth and Jobs in Canada (pp. xiv+223; \$1.25); *Young Canada and Religion* (pp. xiv+114; \$1.00); *Youth Challenges the Educators* (pp. xi+151; \$1.00); *Youth and Health: A Positive Health Program for Canada* (pp. vii+93; \$1.00); *Youth and Recreation* (pp. x+220; cloth, \$1.50; *Youth Organization in Canada: A Reference Manual*, by GEORGE TUTTLE (pp. xi+110; cloth, \$1.50). Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1945-46.

Full participation by citizens groups in the study process is an outstanding feature of the Canadian Youth Commission reports. The Canadian Youth Commission is a private organization established only five years ago, to carry on research in the problems of youth (ages fifteen to twenty-four) to develop recommendations for meeting such problems, and to promote action on their recommendations by both public and private agencies. The announced research program of the commission includes studies on family life and on citizenship, in addition to the six reports already published.

More than fifty citizens who are particularly interested and well informed in a given area of youth activities or problems, were organized into five committees, each responsible for exploring an important area of youth needs. The citizens' committees were given assistance in the

collection and analysis of the material by about one thousand professional and lay people. The extent of citizen participation and responsibility is noteworthy in view of the fact that the planning, initiating, and conduct of the basic surveys took place during the war.

Equally noteworthy is that citizen participation was extended to include youth. Young people were not merely used as statistics-yielding organisms; an effort was made to give young people some opportunity to register their own evaluations, judgments, and aspirations. An established public-opinion polling service was employed and was found useful where problems were so well defined that a small number of categorical replies exhausted the possible choices. However, more active youth participation was obtained through "briefs" or summaries of discussions held by youth organizations and conferences. The report on *Youth and Jobs* states that briefs were presented to the commission by over eight hundred groups. The value of the briefs for research purposes could be better evaluated if the final reports had contained a description of the kind of agenda, study materials, and leadership techniques provided to the various youth organizations and conferences.

The public-opinion poll and the group brief were used in all five substantive reports to indicate what youth wants. The success of the different study groups in arriving at "actionable" recommendations varied in large part with their ability to obtain factual data indicating what youth already has and has not—that is, the volume and distribution of available services and facilities. For example, the committee on *Youths and Jobs* had the benefit of relatively abundant statistical materials on the relation of young people to the job market and was able to produce a series of well-reasoned and specific recommendations. On the other hand, the committee on *Youth and Health* was handicapped by an almost complete absence of statistics on the health status of young persons and on health services and medical care available to them, and recommendations made were general in nature. No recommendations are attempted in the report *Young Canada and Religion*.

The report on *Youth and Recreation* has the distinction of being the first comprehensive study of recreation in Canada. This report is especially well presented, and the sources of information are carefully identified. A brief but

enlightening description of a survey of local recreational programs, both in and out of schools, made by mail questionnaires is included in this report (pp. 99-106). This survey appears to be the only attempt made to obtain data on services, resources, and facilities specifically for this series of reports.

The difficulty of keeping severely to any one of the fields selected for study, mentioned by the committees themselves, serves to point up the interrelatedness of youth problems, and the need for a summary of the findings of the different reports into a recommendation for a well-rounded youth program. A common element in the various reports reviewed here that might well receive consideration in such a summary is the recognition of the need for providing equality of opportunity for all youths, and this means emphasis on providing additional services for special groups, particularly for rural youth, and girls and young women in all parts of Canada. Recommendations are directed to both private and public agencies, local, provincial, and national. A repeated refrain, however, is the recommendation for federal financial assistance to the provinces and localities to provide youth services. Putting this recommendation into effect would undoubtedly represent a major gain for the youth of Canada.

The volume *Youth Organizations in Canada* is an annotated directory of national youth-serving organizations—largely limited in coverage to private agencies. This manual is a by-product of the commission's work with youth organizations in preparing the five substantive reports. This directory is organized on the model of *Youth-serving Organizations*, prepared by M. M. Chambers for the American Youth Commission. In addition to its designed use as a reference manual, this compilation, together with its United States counterpart, invites comparison of youth-serving organizations in Canada and in the United States. The positive description of organized labor's concern with youth activities in Canada is worthy of note.

EDWARD E. SCHWARTZ

*Director, Division of Statistical Research
United States Children's Bureau
Washington, D.C.*

Problems of Juvenile Delinquency. By MAUD A. MERRILL. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947. Pp. xiii+403. \$3.50.

The last forty years have produced a variety

of significant writings on the subject of juvenile delinquency. Rarely, however, has any one volume effectively combined case studies, statistical analyses, a discussion of psychological techniques, and mature interpretations based upon a comprehensive review of earlier writings and upon years of pertinent experience on the part of the author. Maud Merrill, an outstanding psychologist with long and practical juvenile-court association, has accomplished this difficult task. The result is a 400-page book, intellectually stimulating, vitally interesting, and packed with observations and conclusions which may be accepted as valid by those who wish to understand and help the delinquent child.

The core of this effort is an analysis of case material and statistics gleaned from a comparison of 300 children referred to a juvenile court in California over a two-year period with an equal number of non delinquent controls. The court sample included 95 per cent of all children referred from April, 1933, to June, 1935, and is therefore representative of the mine-run juvenile delinquent in a specific county. The reader's attention is directed in successive chapters to the importance of understanding the problem child in terms of his social environment, school adjustment, personality and emotional life, intelligence, motivation, interests, etc. Factors in after-care adjustment, based on follow-up studies, also are carefully analyzed.

As we are becoming accustomed to expect, the delinquents differed from the control group in that more of them came from broken homes, experienced unsatisfying family relationships, were improperly disciplined, changed residence frequently, and used leisure time unwisely. Certain other comparisons yielded nothing conclusive. The study showed, however, that there are more points of similarity than of difference between the delinquent and the noncourt child. Factors hard to handle statistically, such as the interaction between the individual and his "social frame of reference," and the impact of a situation upon "the kind of person the individual is" are rated important.

The author has made effective use of a 6-page Bibliography, quoting passages and discussing them in their bearing upon her own research and in the light of her direct experience. As a result, the reader has an opportunity to review many generalizations, founded upon research and treatment of accepted professional quality, which help to clarify the confused causal patterns of juvenile delinquency.

Four-fifths of the delinquents studied by Dr. Merrill were reported to be adjusting fairly well five years later. She believes an unselected group of juvenile-court cases will always tend to have a better prognosis than an equal number of institutional delinquents, committed because of extremely bad home conditions or the failure of other treatment plans; and that recidivism is less among an unselected group than among those delinquents who have been chosen for study because of clinic referrals based upon especially perplexing problems of behavior and personality (e.g., the Glueck study, *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents*, the findings of which were received with such widespread gloom a decade ago).

Careful reading of the material included in Dr. Merrill's book is actually a refresher course on the dynamics of delinquent behavior and attitude.

RICHARD EDDY

Illinois Children's Hospital-School

The Early Factory Legislation: A Study in Legislative and Administrative Evolution. By MAURICE W. THOMAS. Leigh-on-Sea, Essex, England: Thames Bank Publishing Co., Ltd., 1948. Pp. xiii+470. 35s.

This book covers one of the most fascinating periods in the history of British social legislation, beginning with the passage of the first factory act in 1802 through the establishment of the so-called normal ten-hour workday in 1853. One is immediately reminded of the Hutchins and Harrison volume first published in 1903, *A History of Factory Legislation*, which was such an important contribution to our knowledge of the workings of the early factory legislation. As stated in the Introduction to the 1926 edition of the Hutchins book, much had been written about the Industrial Revolution and the growth and evils of the factory system, but less attention was given by historians to the development of centralized enforcement of the factory laws passed by Parliament. The author of the present study had access to the Home Office minute books which recorded the discussions and reports of the first factory inspectors and therefore throws new light on the day-by-day obstacles faced in the administration of the successive laws.

Mr. Thomas points out that the 1802 measure, although limited in scope to health regu-

lations aimed at protecting pauper children apprenticed to the mills, did establish the principle of state intervention in industry. The 1833 statute legislated "the scientific approach of the Benthamites . . . in the inception of a closely knit centralized system of control, the technical imperfections of which, however, rendered many of its provisions worthless," while the 1844 act marked the opening of the third great chapter in the history of factory legislation, for among its provisions was the beginning of the system whereby factory children were required to attend school during half the day as a condition of being employed in the factory the other half. The relation of child labor legislation to education is, of course, brought out, and the very early pleas for a national compulsory system of education are noted. The Chartist agitation and the reaction to the new and hated poor law give added color to the period.

The author gives a most interesting account of the work of the first four factory inspectors appointed in 1833 and the problems they faced in developing a wholly new technique of government inspection. Theirs was a most unpopular task, opposed as they were both by the factory owners and by the parents of the factory children. The former unused to any legislation which interfered with "their private affairs" instituted various methods of evading the law, and the parents fearful of losing the small wages earned by the children frequently falsified their ages. The inspectors with a few assistants covered large territories, had to pay all their traveling expenses out of their relatively small salaries, and at one time even had to provide their own stationery. As frequently noted in our own time, the legislative branch of the government passed the laws and then gave too little support to the persons responsible for their enforcement.

However, out of the welter of controversy and evasion a centralized inspectorate did emerge. As the Webbs have so aptly pointed out, in contrast to experiments in the physical sciences based on laboratory tests, "achievement in the field of social administration comes only by the method of 'trial and error.' . . . At the start though the evil to be remedied may be recognized, there is never any adequate science formulated, never in existence any completely thoughtful plan of reform. The administrative technique cannot be devised save only in the actual working of the administration itself." One of the useful illustrations which this book

provides to students of social legislation is the way in which administrative experience in a new and untried field may in the end modify and improve legislation.

ELIZABETH WISNER

Tulane University

The Child and His Welfare. By HAZEL FREDERICKSEN. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman & Co., 1948. Pp. vii+318. \$3.75.

This is the second book on child welfare to be contributed recently by a former member of the United States Children's Bureau. Miss Emma Lundberg's *Unto the Least of These* appeared last year. Now we have the present volume—the author now of the faculty of the School of Social Welfare of the University of California but formerly a member of the Children's Bureau staff. The broad conception of the author reflects her identification with the Children's Bureau philosophy of concern for *all* aspects of child life.

The volume may be called *comprehensive*. Practically no phase of child care has gone unnoticed in the twenty-five chapters which make up the book. The chapters are grouped into seven parts or sections. The first part is an introductory statement. In it, one is assured that the author's definition of child welfare is not a narrow one, limited, for example, to foster-care of dependent children. Rather, the term stretches out "to embrace every aspect of child's life that concerns his growth and proper development." The second part gives history. In the main, it is not so much a history of specific program—that comes later—but of efforts and achievements of organization, study, service, and planning with respect to children's needs. A third part initiates the consideration of particular phases of care and protection. Quite logically, the first phase to be discussed is that of safeguarding family life. Financial, health, educational, religious, recreational, and vocational (including child labor) aspects are considered. The material is especially characterized by the inclusion of very recent legislative developments, including references to the Emergency Maternal and Infant Care Act, the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, the National Mental Health Act, and recent modifications of the Social Security Act.

The material on family care of children is followed—in the fourth part—by a consideration

of service to children in need of guardianship. The inclusion of this material is good. The matter of guardianship aspects of child protection, like child labor, is one that is frequently neglected by children's workers. Juvenile delinquency control is also dealt with in this section on guardianship. Some may question the feasibility of this arrangement of material, especially when the focus is not so much on the legal "angle" but quite properly on social treatment aspects. Regardless of the arrangement, however, the need for a philosophy of multiple causation as a basis for dealing with delinquency is well emphasized.

Problems and programs of substitute parental care constitute the fifth part. The traditional programs of foster-home care and institutional care are dealt with, but attention is also given to foster-family day care and homemaker service as a means of formulating a more complete configuration of parental care. The chapter on adoption brings together material on legal aspects, the nature of the problem before the community, and agency and worker responsibility in dealing with it. Unmarried parenthood, although closely related to adoption, is reserved for the sixth part, probably because it would not logically fit into the category of substitute parental care. The need for modernizing legislation with respect to children born out of wedlock is well presented. The seventh and final part, titled "Needs for Special Services," deals with the exceptional child and with children in rural areas. The latter discussion on the needs of children in rural areas is especially well done and constitutes a real contribution to existing child welfare literature. The book is brought to a close by a consideration of public and private responsibility, the role of the volunteer (stressing the need to apply sound principles of personnel administration when they are used), and aspects of international organization of children's services.

There are some who may be in disagreement with the way in which the author has presented her material. Some will have wished that more brief case examples might have been used. Some may feel that at times the approach to certain topics has been in a too categorizing manner. That some of these feelings should arise is almost inevitable in a volume of this kind. However, after any or all of these feelings have been expressed, this fact remains: the author has brought together in one place a tremendous amount of valuable information

about child care and protection. Moreover, the information is current, and it is presented from the viewpoint of a social worker with broad experience.

For those who knew her, the dedication to Mary Irene Atkinson is reverently noted.

NORRIS E. CLASS

University of Southern California

The Executive Director on the Job. Edited by MARGARET LOGAN CLARK and BRISEIS TEALL. New York: Woman's Press, 1947. Pp. 128. \$2.75.

This concrete description of the executive's job in a specific organization is an interesting follow-up of Harleigh Trecker's recent study, *Group Process in Administration*. The author accepts the same general principles as Mr. Trecker. One value of the Y.W.C.A. study lies in the application of these principles to the complex situation of the Y.W.C.A. which combines a world and a local community point of reference with the concept of membership responsibility. The other value is that the descriptions of the job are based on written records and on discussions developed by the practitioners themselves, in this case executive secretaries of local Y.W.C.A.'s, in a workshop and in conferences set up by the Leadership Division of the National Board.

Here is the organic concept of the executive's job familiar to readers of Mary LaFollette and of later students like Harleigh Trecker. In describing the job, the practitioner said: "The executive director is responsible for carrying out the objectives of the YWCA through the performance of certain specific functions all of which involve relationships with people. . . . It is the persons who count and organizational processes must be ordered accordingly."

This organic concept with its emphasis on relating persons in furthering a common purpose is realistic, however, in recognizing the necessity of dealing also with things. For these things that plague an executive—"leaky plumbing, snow on the roof, termites in the foundations, insurance, taxes, lack of paper towels"—are related to program and services and, therefore, are related also to persons.

Although the volume outlines the numerous and complex elements in the executive director's job, the job is envisaged as a unity and not as a mere collection of functions. The various threads

are brought together in the following description:

As the executive officer of the board and of the total Association the executive director is the focal point for the development of unity and driving force. She heads up the execution of policies and plans throughout the organization. As the chief administrator she is "the one who knows when to say 'go.'" Through her executive functioning a system of cooperative effort is maintained and the life of the organization is expressed in constructive activity.

Hers, however, is never a prima donna role:

In considering how she and the president can induce a timid committee chairman to take initiative, how a committee can be persuaded to push its work through to completion, how a volunteer or staff leader can be helped to relate a staunchly defended cause to the needs and interests of a group, the executive director finds the core of her executive responsibility. She must constantly be perfecting skill in helping many kinds of people to feel that the YWCA is theirs, to undertake responsibility with confidence and to pursue their tasks, large and small, in a spirit of religious dedication.

An interesting section, written jointly by the president and the executive director of the Y.W.C.A., compares their distinct, yet complementary, responsibilities. Records of typical events showing the relationships in which the executive director functioned—such as the planning of a season's program, a meeting of the electoral membership, a building project—complete the volume.

Although certain characteristics of the Y.W.C.A. condition the descriptions of an executive's job, there is much in this little volume to challenge and to enlighten the executive of any social agency. Moreover, the method used would in itself be of value to many organizations. To translate the organic conception of the executive function into descriptions of jobs in specific social agencies is one of the next tasks in social work administration. To this task the present volume makes an important contribution.

LUCY P. CARNER

*Division on Education and Recreation
Council of Social Agencies of Chicago*

Social Problems on the Home Front: A Study of War-Time Influences. By FRANCIS E. MERRILL. New York: Harper & Bros., 1948. Pp. x+258. \$3.50.

This book is a study of some of the social problems in the United States which seem to have been especially intensified or created by World War II. It is one of a series of studies suggested and sponsored by the Committee on War Studies of the Social Science Research Council. The author starts from the premise that, while present-day warfare sets in motion some forces which unify the nation, in general total warfare makes for the interruption of normal social relationships and for consequent social disorganization. This produces social problems ("actual or imagined deviations from social norms"). The inquiry is limited to social problems existing among the civilian population of this country between the years 1940 and 1945. Only eight such problems are selected for consideration, the selection being based on the assumed importance and availability of data. The method is to present a general social problem and to treat it completely in one chapter—nature of problem, quotations and current and authoritative writings pertaining to the subject selected statistics of pertinence and conclusiveness, and conclusions of war-relationship factors.

After an introductory chapter on "War and Social Change" each of the eight selected social problems is treated. In the chapter on "War and Family Disorganization" the author finds external tensions arising particularly from employment of housewives, mobility of families in the war industrial economy, and crowding of families in congested production areas. These conditions did and will for some time abnormally increase the desertion and divorce rate. In the chapter on "War and Childhood" it is pointed out that three to four million temporarily broken homes were created by fathers being absent for military or war industrial mobilization. This was a problem exclusively created by the war. In considering "War and Adolescence" it was pointed out that the adolescent's adjustment to adult society was made doubly difficult by the greatly accelerated social change required by wartime living. The experience of the older generation offered little help in such a rapidly changing situation, and widespread family disorganization made it even worse. The complete reversal of the long-time trend in reduction of adolescent child labor without consideration of the price to be paid was noted.

"War and Sex Offenses" were considered, and a substantial increase in extramarital sex

behavior seemed indicated. With regard to "War and Prostitution" striking evidence was found of a differential effect of the war on a social problem. The danger of this institution to the health of the armed forces was realized by federal, state, and local governmental agencies, with the result that prostitution was greatly reduced. In the inquiry on "War and Delinquency" it was found that adolescents whose cases were disposed of by juvenile courts increased considerably during the war with delinquency rates for girls increasing more than for boys, owing perhaps to their lesser participation in the direct war effort. Under "War and Crime" it was observed that a majority of the crimes known to police decreased during the war, making for an improvement in this social problem. In the final chapter on "War and Personal Disorganization" the author considers mainly the effect of the war on the development of neurotic, suicidal, and psychotic behavior. It is felt that neurotic behavior was favorably affected on the home front by the participation, consensus, and moral factors of a nation at war. Proof of this is not well established. Suicides are known to have decreased substantially during the war and to have increased since its end. Taking hospital admissions as a measure, some of the classified psychoses increased and some decreased, but the general trend showed an increase.

The author starts out with the hypothesis that war produces "essentially the same social problems as peace, only in an accelerated and presumably more serious form." He finds that this must be altered in that the industrial activity of wartime and high national morale created by the war effort solved at least for the time being many social problems related to income, employment, and social conflict. He therefore finally concludes that "World War II" had a differential effect upon social problems, intensifying some, alleviating others, and creating still others.

The author has accepted a broad and difficult assignment in writing a book of this nature. With the final hypothesis one would hardly disagree. How much beyond this the book achieves depends upon the reader's point of view and what he desires to find out about social problems on the home front during the war. With the possible exception of the subject "War and Prostitution," the book does not as the publisher suggests "set positive conclusions as to how anti-social trends can be reversed." A considerable amount of useful factual material

has been selected and presented in the discussion of each of the eight selected social problems, and each problem is considered from a number of angles with frequent recourse to a wide distribution of writers on various aspects of the problem. By virtue of the interrelatedness of the social problems studied and the questionable order of their presentation, one is faced with a considerable amount of repetition in reading the subject matter of each chapter. The interrelatedness of such problems as "War and Family Disorganization," "War and Childhood," "War and Adolescence," and "War and Delinquency" hardly seems appreciated by the author. If such had not been the case, one wonders if a totally different arrangement of material might not have resulted, making it much easier to follow the study of this important area of social concern.

RICHARD G. GUILFORD

University of Minnesota

The Russian Idea. By NICOLAS BERDYAEV. New York: Macmillan, 1948. Pp. 255. \$2.75.

The author of this work, who died a few months ago, was a theologian and philosopher who never quite severed his ties with the Greek Catholic Church of Russia but who recognized its defects and weaknesses and welcomed the acceptance by its younger leaders of the Soviet regime and its basic social and economic reforms. Berdyaev was not a Communist or a fellow-traveler, but he was a radical of an independent type. His interpretation of Russia, its history, its "soul," and its role in the world of the future is not strikingly new. Secularists have repeatedly maintained the same essential thesis.

Bolshevism, according to the author, is at bottom only one form of "the breach and schism which runs all through Russian life." The messianic idea of the orthodox Russian of the past, as of the literary and artistic Slavophile school, persists in the Communist party of today, despite its Marxist inspiration. Communism in Russia is a religion as well as an economic system. The Russians are a deeply religious people. They are in the highest degree polarized, as one great writer put it. They are a conglomeration of contradictions. They cannot be understood by purely intellectual processes. Russia is a complete section of the globe; it is a colossal East-West. The Russian soul reflects the immensity, the vagueness, and the predilection for the infinite which is suggested by the great plain, the

Russian empire. One may love the Russians, or one may hate them. Only through a love, however, will they ever be understood, says another eminent Russian author.

The totalitarianism of the present regime, we are told by Berdyaev, is natural and unavoidable. Russia has always been totalitarian. All her ideology has been totalitarian, whether theocratic or heretical, czarist or Communist. That which looks to us utopian is the most realistic thing to the Russian who is a maximalist and cannot easily consent to compromise.

Mr. Berdyaev's testimony is particularly valuable with respect to aspects of the Russian revolution which the majority of Westerners, despite their good will, find it difficult to grasp. Thus he observes that the revolution "could only be Socialist." Further, Leninism and Stalinism are not classical Marxism. Sharp nationalization of the Soviet system was inevitable, as well as a return to sundry traditions. Determinism evaporated, and instead matter was assigned spiritual qualities—"a position of automatic movement from within, of inward freedom and intelligence."

Berdyaev does not despair of democracy and liberty in the Soviet system. He deeply believes that the way is being prepared there for a new revelation about social organization. The Russian is not interested in civil liberties as the West defines them, but he is more community conscious, more ready for life in common. The brotherhood of man is more than a phrase to him. He is neither academic nor strictly economic. He is attached to the soil as no being of another race or land is. But his soil leads to the new Jerusalem. He still hopes to mediate between the East and the West, between material prosperity and spiritual elevation and integrity.

All this doubtless will tend to bewilder still more the perplexed and practical American who is devoid of all mysticism and whose nature is certainly not "highly polarized." But in judging Russian diplomacy and Russian thought Berdyaev's insights and sense of shade and nuance in personality might prove salutary.

VICTOR S. YARROS

La Jolla, California

You and Your Doctor: A Frank Discussion of Group Medical Practice and Other Modern Trends in American Medicine. By BENJAMIN MILLER, M.D. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948. Pp. x+183. \$2.75.

The sixteen brief and lucid chapters in this book deal with the important problem: *How can we secure better medical service and better health for all our people?* But the author does not always put this in question form. He thinks he has at least some of the answers. This leads to some unwarranted exaggerations and untenable dogmatism. This is unfortunate, for the author is clear and factual on most issues. No informed citizen will question the author's assertion that better medical service and health for all the people "cannot be solved by physicians working independently of the rest of the country, nor by political fiat." But the author's dramatic descriptions of the general practitioner's working day and dilemmas (in diagnosis and therapy) are greatly exaggerated; and the heading of the last chapter: "We Can Provide Good Health for Everyone," is both wrong and misleading, as we now know the factors of health and of disease. Better health education for all the people and better education of more and abler physicians can only assure *better health for more people*. Even an ideal socialized medical service administered by our federal Department of Public Health (as advocated by the author) will fall short of omniscience and omnipotence. Man is not made that way, at least not yet. Dr. Miller is a lucid, dramatic, and challenging writer. His ideas and plans for "Post Mortems" (chap. x) and as a "Pilot Physician" (chap. iv) are worthy of speedy attention and trial. Maybe he overstates, for the purpose of greater attention. But in the long run, when a scientist speaks to laymen, it is probably more fruitful to stick closely to proved facts. For when, following the author's tempting paths, society does not find the health and medical utopia around the corner, education and science are not advanced in public understanding and public support.

A. J. CARLSON

University of Chicago

Medicine in the Postwar World: The March of Medicine, 1947. ("New York Academy of Medicine Lectures to the Laity," No. 12.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. xiv+109. \$2.00.

This factual and readable volume is a distinct contribution to adult education in an important field: progress in medical research and

application of our growing understanding of disease for the healthier and happier life of man. Dr. Kirk, surgeon general of the Army during World War II, reports on the labors and the successes of the medical corps in decreasing the incidence of and fatalities from infectious diseases in the armed forces in home camps and overseas, a success largely due to the better application of the newer medical discoveries antedating the war. Dr. Solomon of Harvard University Medical School outlines the application of some of the results of atomic research to the many unknowns in the causes and the prevention of disease. Dr. Dubos of the Rockefeller Institute presents an illuminating chapter on the development by bacteria, molds, and higher plants of chemicals of the greatest value in the control and prevention of many important infectious diseases of man. There are three chapters on mental health and mental instability. Dr. R. A. Spitz discusses the importance of early child care ("Are Parents Necessary?") for the mental stability in later years. Dr. N. D. C. Louis of the New York State Psychiatric Institute reports on what the late war taught us in psychiatry. Twelve of every hundred men rejected at induction centers were rejected for mental instability alone, and 40 per cent of all medical military discharges (nearly 400,000) were due to various degrees and types of mental disorders. "War is the principal mental disorder of the civilized world. The soldier must become a specialist in acts of violence. . . . This radical transformation ruins some, impairs others, and has little or no effect on still others" (p. 56). Finally, there is the very illuminating chapter by Dr. H. W. Haggard of Yale University on "American Pioneering in Psychiatry," illuminating the shadows of the medical and social treatment of the insane in our country a century ago, and what a laywoman, Dorothea Lynde Dix, did about it. This great American citizen is the forgotten woman of our age. Dr. Haggard concludes: "If we subscribe to the belief that the basis of civilization is humanitarianism, Dorothea Lynde Dix was the greatest woman this country, perhaps any country, has ever produced" (p. 90). This account of the successful effort of Miss Dix for the humane treatment of the mentally ill is alone worth more than the price of the volume.

A. J. CARLSON

University of Chicago

Labor's Relation to Church and Community: A Series of Addresses. Edited by LISTON POPE. New York: Published by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies; distributed by Harper, 1947. Pp. ix+182. \$2.50.

For employers and the general public who are convinced that labor's aims and leaders are wholly selfish and "materialistic"; for ministers who wonder why "working people" do not attend their churches; for seminary presidents who find some of their most promising ministerial prospects and students—and alumni—slipping out of the church into labor work, this collection of seventeen addresses, most of which were given by prominent and competent labor officials, should be illuminating. The editor, who is professor of social ethics in the Yale Divinity School, has winnowed lectures given over a three-year period under the auspices of the Institute for Religious and Social Studies and has arranged them in three categories: (a) labor's relation to the community; (b) labor's relation to the church; (3) selected spiritual autobiographies of the labor leaders themselves. All the addresses are concise, factual, distinctive, often dramatic—save those by Professor Whitehead and Dr. Bernard C. Clausen.

In the first section the contributions of Mark Starr ("Organized Labor and Education"), of Dwight Bradley ("Organized Labor and Politics"), and of A. Philip Randolph ("Discrimination against Minorities") have a bit of an edge over their companions. In the second section those by Kermit Eby ("Labor's Challenge to the Church") and by John G. Ramsay ("The Reconciliation of Religion and Labor") seem to the reviewer especially instructing and inspiring. Of the "spiritual autobiographies" in the third section all are vital and moving.

The themes of social idealism and action of the preceding contributions reach a *coda* in these unusually frank confessions regarding the persistence of the modification of the lecturers' early connection with some form of organized religion. There is no unanimity. Lucy Randolph Mason (birthright Episcopalian) is sure that, with the broad social program of the C.I.O., it is natural that it has attracted "ministers, rabbis, college professors, social workers, young men and women fresh from college" (p. 154), and she suggests that "it would be well if the Church and Synagogue, in addition to teaching the spiritual verities . . . would draw closer to the labor movement." Ellis Van Riper, a Roman Catholic, sticks to his church because of

a distrust of "people who are trying to create a better world [but] have the welfare of the people only in their head. . . . We Christians have it in our hearts as well" (p. 173). Nelson Cruikshank, a former Methodist minister, reveals that "I never go to church. . . . Only when engaged in a good fight to accomplish something to improve life for the workers in our unions, do I find an inner peace and satisfaction comparable to a religious experience" (p. 166). Kermit Eby and Van Riper agree that "we in the church and in the synagogue belong by the side of the labor movement as long as it is the agent of the people. We must break with it only when it becomes an agent of power" (p. 176).

It is an inescapable conclusion that for these men the dominant motive of their faith and work is a militant labor humanitarianism, using democratic/Christian/prophetic principles and methods. It may as logically be called their "religion" as communism has been called a "religion." In the entire symposium, however, there has been noted not a syllable of bitterness, disingenuousness, or ruthlessness.

Meadville Theological School
Chicago

CHARLES H. LYTLE

Democracy—The Threshold of Freedom. By HAROLD F. GOSNELL. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1948. Pp. vii+316. \$4.00.

Democracy, in a political sense, is still on trial, still an experiment. It is now challenged from different quarters, but the challenge is serious and formidable. An up-to-date defense of democracy, therefore, will be welcomed by many intelligent people, and particularly by educators and students. Former Professor Gosnell of the University of Chicago has presented such a defense.

His thesis is summed up in the title of his work. Democracy is not freedom, but it is "the threshold of freedom." To say this is not to minimize the value of democracy, the author points out, because it *is* the threshold to freedom, and we cannot by-pass it or dispense with it. We now see that certain so-called political reforms—equal and universal suffrage, direct primaries, direct election of federal senators, etc.—have been sought, fought for, and realized largely as means to a far more important end, namely, greater economic equality, truly equal

opportunity, justice and reason in the distribution of the products of modern industry.

This vital point, however, is not sufficiently emphasized by the author. It demands full and frank discussion. England is gradually socializing her basic industries; this has been aptly described as "revolution by consent." There are serious divergencies of competent opinion as to whether the privileged and owning class in Britain will continue to accept radical economic changes. Professor Harold Laski has said, repeatedly, that the answer is by no means a foregone conclusion and that at a certain point the class in power economically may decide to resist and fight. Violence would then replace constitutional and democratic methods.

Britain is in some respects more democratic than the United States. Big business in this country is less likely to make substantial concessions to economic radicalism and to surrender power and privilege than British big business has been disposed to do. Socialism here is weak, divided, and politically negligible. But another major depression or two would profoundly change the public attitude toward radical economic programs. The next New Deal is bound to be openly and definitely socialistic.

Apart from this question, Professor Gosnell has ably and comprehensively covered the whole ground indicated in his title. His contribution marks a notable advance on James Bryce's *Modern Democracies*, published thirty years ago. He treats all phases and aspects of the problem—the struggle for suffrage, checks and balances in government, the party systems, the nomination and election of candidates, corrupt practices (fraud, bribery, and force) as weapons in the hands of political machines, lobbying and log-rolling in legislation, and a dozen other topics.

The challenge of the totalitarian state is not ignored. The charges of weakness, opportunism, indecision, and inefficiency brought against democratic systems are examined and fairly met. The conclusion reached is that, with all the defects, democracies are more progressive, more compatible with peace and justice, more stable and enduring, than autocracies or oligarchies. History, at any rate, fully supports this balanced verdict. The future may revise it, but we must hope that it will not. We certainly want more economic security, more eq-

uity, but we do not want to sacrifice our limited freedom.

VICTOR S. YARROS

La Jolla, California

The Negro Ghetto. By ROBERT WEAVER. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1948. Pp. xviii+404. \$3.75.

The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court denying the right of the courts to enforce racial restrictive covenants has attracted attention anew to the vast and still largely unsettled problem of the housing of the Negro citizens of this so-called democracy. Those whose interest has been stirred by this decision will find a complete discussion and a thorough documentation of the problem in *The Negro Ghetto*.

The competence of the author to present this issue is attested by the varied background of experience he brought to the task. Holder of a Ph.D. degree from Harvard, Dr. Weaver has participated in the solution of the social and economic problems of the Negro at both the local and the federal levels of government as well as from the vantage point of local and national voluntary groups. He is at present director of Community Services of the American Council on Race Relations and is a resident of Hull House.

The enthusiastic promoters of the racial restrictive covenants, who are doubtless somewhat crestfallen at present, could find in Dr. Weaver's book a mass of incontestable proof that the covenants were foolish and ineffective long before they became legally unenforceable. Most of the areas in northern cities now occupied almost exclusively by Negroes were covered by restrictive covenants when Negroes moved in. The plain truth is that any vigorously expanding population group will find a place to live, that defections occur in the most fully covenanted areas, and that, once there is an initial break, the expanding race promptly takes over the area even when extralegal means of force and intimidation are employed against it.

As this study clearly proves, the only permanent protection against this dangerous and undemocratic method of expansion is the provision of adequate space and adequate housing facilities for Negroes. No city has thus far accepted this demonstrable fact. Practically every effort made by local housing authorities to open up

new areas for Negro occupancy has encountered exceedingly bitter opposition; and, as often as not, the attempt fails. Private enterprise finds little reason to build for Negroes, since the more profitable investment is to buy run-down properties in areas the Negroes "take over." Such properties can be operated at handsome profits, since the pressure for Negro housing makes it unnecessary to spend money for repairs and maintenance. In Chicago, for example, a grand jury investigation of a fire in which ten Negroes lost their lives revealed that the owner purchased the deteriorated structure in 1945 for \$9,500, that he promptly cut it up into one- and two-room apartments, that he rented a two-room apartment with the privilege of sharing kitchen and bath with other tenants for \$78 per month, and that his "take" on his investment was about \$2,000 a month, or more than \$20,000 per year.

In addition to analyzing the Negro ghetto from a social and an economic viewpoint, the author describes and evaluates the various efforts made to dissolve it. Here, for example, is to be found a complete exposition of the F.H.A. program and its effect upon Negro housing. Here, too, is a city-by-city account of the efforts that have been made by local housing authorities. This reviewer knows of no other single document in which the problem of Negro housing has been so thoroughly reviewed from all its many baffling angles.

WAYNE McMILLEN

University of Chicago

Our Partnership. By BEATRICE WEBB. Edited by BARBARA DRAKE and MARGARET I. COLE. New York, London, Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1948. Pp. xiv + 544. \$5.00.

Like *My Apprenticeship* (1926), to which this is a belated sequel, *Our Partnership* is based on Beatrice Webb's diaries. These take us back into the London of 1892-1911, where Sidney and Beatrice lived a life of public service, with two research secretaries, two maids, and a West End house, on £1,000 (\$5,000) a year. Beatrice's innumerable pen portraits add much to our understanding of almost every British public personage of the last sixty years. Not least, they throw light on the Webbs themselves: for she never shrank from self-portraiture or from depicting "the Other One."

We here see the Webbs lobbying to win

cabinet members, opposition leaders, prelates, and millionaires to the support of the practical measures of the moment. And we see her combining her own individual investigations with the inquiries of a royal commission, to the confusion and exasperation of its chairman and her colleagues. Here and there one even comes upon some striking new fact, such as the Webbs's use, as early as 1903, of the term "social services" in its broad British sense, and the statement, with an eye mainly on education, that "our general policy is to construct a base to society in the form of a legally enforced 'minimum standard of life.' . . ."

It becomes clear that the Webbs were so much an integral part of British history that they were as much influenced by it as they were an influence upon it. Their own impact on their contemporaries has been so often stressed that it is good to find in Beatrice's own account so much evidence of the shaping of the Webbs' work by their social milieu. It seems to have been by force of circumstances rather than by deliberate design that Sidney in the 1890's developed his "administrative" work as chairman of the London County Council's Technical Education Board, instead of graduating like Joseph Chamberlain from municipal to national leadership of the radical movement. It was circumstances again that directed their socialism from the municipalization of public utilities to the development of social services. As Beatrice wrote, looking back in old age, "the Progressive leaders of 1892 would have been mightily surprised if they had been told that the L.C.C. of the twentieth century would be far less concerned with material things such as gas and water, docks and markets, tramways and tunnels, than with the education and recreation, medical treatment and adequate maintenance, of the five millions of inhabitants within the metropolitan area." At a time when their histories of local government were threatening to turn them into antiquarians, a political accident and a personal friendship converted them into students and executioners of the poor law. "Why," she later wrote, "did the cabinet, on the very eve of its resignation, put itself to the trouble of choosing the members of a large and representative Royal Commission . . . ?" It was the logic of the resulting minority report on the poor laws and the subsequent "crusade" that split the Webbs from their fashionable friends in both old political parties, ruined them as lobbyists, and ultimately made Sidney an

active participant in the Labor party. "Being wise after the event," she later wrote, "I sometimes regret this turning-point in Our Partnership. Personally, I should have preferred a life of continued research and non-party social intercourse."

The pressure of events moved the Webbs far beyond their own minority report. From 1912 on, it slowly dawned on them that their "propaganda for a national minimum of civilized life within the capitalist system was out-of-date." And, with the inevitability of gradualness, they moved toward their final stand in the *Decay of Capitalist Civilization* and *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization*. Into this last stage in their spiritual journey this volume gives us no more than a parting glimpse. Yet it is from this final position that Beatrice looks back to judge her own and Sidney's greatest claim to fame—the *Minority Report* of 1909. Part I, on the non-able-bodied, still seemed to her to be valid:

For, whether we have a capitalist, a Socialist, or a Communist organization of production, distribution, and exchange, it is imperative to have all the various classes of non-able-bodied persons dealt with on the lines of preventive service rather than on those of a stigmatized poor-law relief. . . . No such complacency can be justified in respect of Part II . . . on the destitution of the able-bodied. Here, I admit, we unwittingly misled public opinion. We asserted . . . "that, in our judgment, it is now administratively possible, if it is sincerely wished to do so, to remedy most of the evils of unemployment." . . . Where we went hopelessly wrong was in ignoring Karl Marx's forecast of the eventual breakdown of the capitalist system as the one and only way of maximizing the wealth of the nations.

The whole period covered by this volume is therefore one in which the Webbs "did not foresee the collapse of Western Civilization: that is, of the strange and mutually destructive trilogy of the Christian religion, profit-making capitalism, and political democracy." Still less, either then or later, did they envisage the possible solution of the problem of able-bodied destitution within the framework of capitalism

through application of the Keynesian economics of full employment.

Their thinking was basically neither economic nor psychological; but during these twenty years (1892-1911) they stumbled on an important new technique of social study—the historiography of organized groups, beginning with voluntary associations of consumers and producers and culminating in local government. She later wrote:

It was borne in upon us that this inevitable compulsory association of man as citizen was demanded for much more than national defense and the maintenance of internal order. We saw that to the Government alone could be entrusted the provision for future generations. . . . Moreover, such obvious social utilities as public health and universal education, the provision for the destitute, the sick and the defectives, like that for the orphans and the aged—all of them based on provision according to need—involved enterprises to which no profitmaking could usually be attached, and which were, for the most part, outside the characteristic activities or desires either of the associated consumers or of the associated producers. In short, we were led to the recognition of a new form of state, and one which may be called the "housekeeping state," as distinguished from the "police state." This gave us a new vision of social development.

In the subjects they studied, as well as in the reforms they sought, their whole life was thus one consistent demonstration that in society there are forces at work other than the profit motive.

Beatrice's diaries have unfortunately been subjected to two editings—first by herself and then by Barbara Drake and Margaret Cole. To the latter we owe the omission of a chapter on the United States and other English-speaking countries visited in 1898. It is to be hoped that this missing chapter will be printed separately and that no serious omissions or suppressions will occur when the diaries for the period after 1911 are edited for publication.

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BRIEF NOTICES

Psychiatry for Social Workers. By LAWSON G. LOWREY, M.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. xi+337. \$3.50.

This book fulfils in good measure the author's purpose, that of helping social workers to recognize mental disease, mental disorder, and personality dis-

turbance. It attempts also to acquaint them with the social import of these deviations in order that they may know when to refer people for expert advice, where special types of placement or treatment are necessary, or where they safely may undertake supervision or a treatment plan.

This orientation is conveyed through a presentation of the major psychoses, neuroses, mental defects, epilepsies, psychopathic personalities, and behavior disorders. Each condition is defined descriptively through a discussion of causation, of pathology (organic), and of psychopathology. The reader will find particularly helpful the author's focus on those combinations of symptoms that serve as indicators of the general type of disorder or disease. He has included also descriptions of the course of the disease, the usual prognosis, and indicated treatment.

Such extensive content necessarily is covered in part in concentrated fashion and in part sketchily. The author rightly states that a book could be written on any one chapter. Since no book could train social workers in precise differential diagnosis and treatment, it serves its purpose of being a rough guide, so that gross errors in case management may be reduced. The author's discussion of the place of the social worker in dealing with these conditions reflects his long collaborative and consultant relationship with social workers in clinics and social agencies, in that it is oriented realistically to their capacities and function. Because of this the book could be used profitably by many psychiatrists, as an aid in referring cases and in sharing or delegating responsibility. The field of social work is indebted to Dr. Lowrey for this timely and able presentation.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

The Freudian Psychology and Veblen's Social Theory.
By LOUIS SCHNEIDER. New York: King's Crown Press, 1948. Pp. x+270. \$3.25.

Freudian psychology, as we know, has been revised and modified by several of the leading contemporary psychiatrists. This process is by no means completed. Having "discovered" the world-wide social reform movement, the more philosophical psychiatrists are bound to realize more and more deeply and keenly the importance of such factors as unemployment, dread of destitution and dependence, family friction and its evil effect on children and the marriage relation, in producing mental illness. On the other hand, the social workers as well as the theoretical social reformers, including the extreme Left, have shown increasing appreciation of the part psychiatry and social psychology can play—and are actually beginning to play—in dealing with juvenile delinquency, parole, probation, etc.

Dr. Schneider doubtless had these gratifying developments in mind when he conceived the idea of writing the present book. His problem was the nature and the results of the relationship between psychiatry and sociology. He narrowed his investigation, however, to the relationship between Freud and Veblen—the former as the ablest psychiatrist of his time, the latter as the independent,

original, and bold sociologist. Obviously such a limited study could not yield an abundant harvest of conclusions and suggestions. Veblen was a thin writer and a thin, not to say paradoxical, thinker. He was critical rather than creative. We are indebted to him for valuable hints and leads, but not for much more than that. He founded no school, and his admirers today merely repeat his digs, hits, and cracks. His style is a serious handicap. His generalizations have yet to be validated.

The book before us is interesting throughout, but the educated general reader will probably lay it down with a sense of disappointment. To some extent the contributions of the two men are mutually enriching, but they worked independently of each other, and neither was an authority on the basic questions of sociology.

Freud was more pessimistic than Veblen, but he was not as "anarchistic" in his view of human nature as Dr. Schneider appears to believe. He told his critics that while, as we know, man was worse than he thought he was, he also was better than he thought he was. The theory of the superego, it is true, was not sufficiently developed by Freud, but it is being developed promisingly by his school in current discussion, and it supports a positive and progressive philosophy of society and human destiny. Sound ethics and sound political science have no quarrel with Freud as he is now being interpreted and corrected.

The treatment of Adler and Jung by the author is sketchy and inadequate, as he admits. It tends to confuse the general reader rather than to enlighten him.

V. S. YARROS

Principles and Practice of Social Work. By HELEN I. CLARKE. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1947. Pp. xiv+450. \$3.50.

The author, associate professor of social work at the University of Wisconsin, states in the Preface that this book was written to provide a bird's-eye view of the field for students interested in becoming social workers and that the philosophical framework is derived from sociology, psychology, and the history of religion. In an Addendum Miss Clarke pays tribute to the editor, Professor Edward Alsworth Ross, with whom she has been associated for twenty-five years. Chapter i, "What is Social Work?" provides an interesting introduction for the student who may have a vague or confused understanding of social welfare activities and the requirements of the field. The language is clear, avoids many of the clichés so commonly used, and refers to persons about whom students may have heard as well as to illustrative situations with which they may have some familiarity.

The author is particularly challenged by a previous study, *Social Work: An Analysis of a Social In-*

stitution (1942), by Helen L. Witmer, which she regards as the most careful analysis of the characteristics of social work to date. After a brief but thoughtful presentation of Miss Witmer's frame of reference, she states her own disagreement with the definition of social work used as too narrowly concerned in terms of function. Many social workers will agree with Miss Clarke that limitation of the boundaries between social work and social welfare as analyzed in the Witmer book may prematurely restrict and institutionalize a growing profession. Such a dichotomy in our own field would not be unlike that which occurred in medicine between the curative and the public health aspects with which there is a growing dissatisfaction.

The life and works of Jane Addams are reviewed to stimulate the student's interest in a guiding philosophy, and Mary Richmond's contribution presented against the growth of social case work is used to illustrate the development of a technique. The contribution of Samuel Gridley Howe in his work with Laura Bridgman, which Miss Richmond noted in her little book *What Is Social Case Work?* is fortunately included, as too few students today know this interesting story. The volume also includes a chapter on "Services and Resources for Racial Groups," which should interest young students.

In any volume which attempts to present the diverse and complex field of social welfare the author has the difficult task of selection from a wide source of materials, and there are inevitably points of disagreement as to what should be covered. Those of the reviewer are minor. Chapter xii, "Services and Resources for Security," begins with a brief discussion of the religious principles governing past efforts to deal with poverty and refers exclusively to Christian motivation, overlooking the significance of the early Jewish religious teachings which reveal a strong sense of community responsibility for the poor. Other points might be mentioned, but they are not very important. The volume which uses many simple illustrations within the comprehension of young students and which brings the developments down through World War II should provide a useful reference for undergraduate instructors.

ELIZABETH WISNER

Thomistic Philosophy in Social Casework. By MARY J. MCCORMICK. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. 148. \$2.00.

Every well-disciplined intellect takes pleasure in the process of analysis and integration of concepts, of comparing likenesses and differences among related ideas, of tracing the beginnings of thought and finding the roots of the old in the flowering of the new. Perhaps this is what, in part, motivated Miss McCormick to write this book.

Miss McCormick states her ostensible purpose in

her Introduction: "... Caseworkers have, in general, failed to appreciate the extent to which Thomistic philosophy and psychology offer a sound basis for the three-fold task of understanding human nature, explaining human conduct and meeting human need. They have failed to grasp the significance of the fact that, since the principles of this philosophic system have remained constant throughout the years, adherence to those principles can bring with it the kind of security that is so essential to successful performance within the professional setting."

There is no question but that adherence to age-old principles offers a base of security. But there is also danger in such adherence—danger that what is new or different might be distorted to fit the old, or perhaps not be seen at all. Miss McCormick attempts to cope with this danger, but she is not entirely successful. The Thomistic conception of man is a noble one: Each man is unique, the synthesis of his individual body, intellect, and will. His mental powers are both rational and "sensitive" (embracing the desires and impulses). It is his rational powers combined with the power of the will that move him into changes of behavior.

Having presented these propositions, Miss McCormick is faced with making them compatible with what she knows out of her own experience in social case work: that man can be understood fully only as one integrates with the early concepts that radical and empirically established concept of the twentieth century—the existence of the *unconscious*, the existence of great stores of dynamic energy and motivation in human beings that are not immediately accessible to conscious rationality or will. Miss McCormick now says, "Treatment of causes will necessarily include carefully directed attempts to bring into consciousness . . . the sensitive reactions that only then will become amenable to the influences of reason and will." But having said this, she tends to revert again to the Thomistic conception of conscious intellectual control. On page 31: "... Aggression is . . . subject to control by the higher powers of reason and of will." In one of the cases presented, that of a young unmarried mother, Miss McCormick proposes, "Once aroused, this ego would tend to develop in such a way as to lead Ellen to a recognition of herself as a self-conscious being. . . . This recognition would, in turn, bring the girl, as a normally intelligent being, into the kind of reflection that would make it possible for her to arrive at a knowledge of herself. . . . The final step in her development . . . would come when she was intellectually free to compare her own behavior with generally accepted standards of conduct." In a second case of a mother whose behavior shows her to be an infantile and dependent personality the author speaks of her as being led "as a normally intelligent person into the mental process of reflection." The questions that rise to thwart the reader are not answered: How does one become intellectually free? Does having normal

intelligence in itself enable one to act rationally? If, as Miss McCormick implies, the release of potentials comes through the medium of the relationship with the worker, is this relationship created and secured by will and reason, or by unconscious needs in the personality? Miss McCormick says, "... While intellect and will are influenced by emotion they are potentially capable of controlling that emotion." The practicing case worker needs to believe in the potential capacity of every human being. But belief is not enough. He must test the validity of that belief with each person he deals with, and his capacity to test it is developed by his knowledge not only of the rational and conscious powers that move human beings but also of the unconscious and nonrational forces in him, not only of formulated ways by which potentials may be released but also of those forces in the human being's history and current living which may paralyze or choke off his self-realization.

A case worker may find a fountainhead in the philosophy of Aristotle and Aquinas. But the deepening and broadening of his actual working knowledge requires that he drink deeply of what Miss McCormick calls "those psychologists whose teachings are founded in a philosophy of realism," those philosophers and scientists whose twentieth-century findings have lighted up whole dark continents of the human mind and soul.

H. H. P.

A Decade of Group Work. Edited by CHARLES E. HENDRY. New York: Association Press, 1948. Pp. xiii+189. \$2.50.

This book, sponsored by the American Association of Group Work, is a record of growth and development of the very general area of practice in this field. It brings together twenty-five people along with seventy other consultants who have made and are making contributions in the fields of public recreation, health and physical education, religious education, intercultural education, adult education, housing, and social work in a discussion that presents achievement in special areas. It takes the practice of group work into many settings and indicates trends for future development.

Without discussing or singling out special papers it will suffice to say that some are outstanding both as to content and the way in which they are written. All the papers make definite contributions if we consider group work in its broadest sense as a method to be used in a great variety of situations—industry, schools, churches, etc.

The wide coverage of settings in which group-work practice is discussed may leave the reader with a sense that group work can be "all things to all people at all times." This wide coverage would leave one with the feeling that group-work practitioners are laying claims to a number of settings in which group work may never be practiced.

What is group work? A method of education or a method of social work? The record, the experimentations recorded in this book, offer a challenge to practitioners to refine their thinking as to the conditions and circumstances in which a professional practitioner actually practices.

ROBERT L. NEAL

Voluntary Medical Insurance in the United States. By FRANZ GOLDMANN, M.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. xi+228. \$3.00.

The author, Dr. Goldmann, is on the faculty of the Harvard University School of Public Health. The volume presents the facts, as now known from extensive experience, as to the progress, the service, and the present shortcomings of our voluntary medical-care projects. Dr. Goldmann's analysis and deductions from these facts are remarkably free from prejudice and propaganda. This is an achievement in a field and on a problem obscured by dogma, faith, and hope, especially touching voluntary versus compulsory and tax-supported medical-care insurance. Almost every citizen will be struck by more or less serious sickness sometime. This is more certain than accidents with your automobile or loss of your home by fire. Insurance spreads the acute burden of disease and accidents. And voluntary insurance puts the burden where it seems to belong: on the shoulders of the individual intelligent citizen. But with better understanding of all the practical problems involved in such medical insurance and medical service we can do better tomorrow than we have to date.

A. J. CARLSON

All Manner of Men: The Racial Crisis in American Life. By MALCOLM ROSS. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1948. Pp. 314. \$3.50.

Thomas Jefferson once inquired: "Why is it that Christians have become distinguished above all people who ever lived, for persecution?" Granted that the warmth of Mr. Jefferson's expression forms much of his charm, one must admit that his charge has some basis in fact—witness the assertion of John Cotton that "it was toleration that made the world anti-Christian." There remains the often-quoted comment that Christianity "would be a wonderful thing, if it had been practiced." In Malcolm Ross's dispassionate but stirring account of the life and death of the Fair Employment Practices Commission we are given both a background and an analysis of prejudice as an active force in men's lives.

Here, in some detail, are the incidents which form the warp and woof of the fabric of prejudice, in which designs and colors change with the patterns of

time and place. In 1492 the expulsion of the Jews from Spain had presented a preview of Hitler's Europe, with its suicides, starvations, and ships crowded to sinking with fugitives. In England torture and the stake were in use for elderly recluses accused of owning "cats who vanished into thin air, and toads who sat groaning by the fire" instead of burning like a proper toad. Anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, anti-Negro, anti-Anglican, anti-Yankee, anti-southern, anti-labor-union—the whole parade of prejudice is here, linked by the common denominator or anti-reason—and the very simplicity of the treatment adds to its impact, plus the intelligent use of excerpts from source material.

It appears that some occasions of violent feeling, supposedly due to religious prejudices, were not without a root in economics and that "those who battered the skulls of the Irish immigrants were not trying to save souls—they were worrying about having their wage-rates depressed by the cheap labor of these newcomers." Even the "freedom" acquired by the Negro brought with it an economic and social confusion which obscured for a time the underlying fact that prejudice was not confined by the Mason and Dixon line and that no real solution of the problem had yet come into being.

At this point, Mr. Ross discusses the establishment of the FEPC and the conditions against which it existed. In chapters such as "Two Sides of a Triangle," "The Lowest Man on the Ladder," and "Politics," he is graphic and specific, while in other chapters, like "House Divided" and "Let Us Alone," he widens his canvas. At no point does he descend to mere condemnation. The account is full, and the approach objective. One of the principal impressions created by the book is that of fuller realization of the extent to which the purposes and the methods of the FEPC were misrepresented or, to be more charitable, misunderstood by that familiar character, the Man in the Street. There was, without doubt, distortion which was in many cases deliberate. In other instances, opportunities for the government agency to state its side of the case were limited, and accounts in the press were not always interested in a type of public education which, in some instances, was not in much favor with either labor or management.

Mr. Ross is convinced that the economic interests of the South would be better served by equal job opportunity. As proof that discrimination has hampered progress he adds: "The South for decades broke up every effort of its coal miners to form unions, and in so doing tossed hundreds of millions of dollars to the North." (By pitting southern operators against each other to lower prices.) He emphasizes the fact that the easiest way to prevent unionization is to split the colored workers away from the white. In these times, when a rather nostalgic desire for a lost security has made some reactionary thinking appear attractive, it may be useful to close with the quotation cited by Mr. Ross, from W. E. Gladstone: "I painfully reflect that in

almost every political controversy in the last fifty years, the leisured classes, the titled classes, have been in the wrong. The common people, the toilers, the men of uncommon sense, these have been responsible for nearly all the social reform measures the world accepts today."

Although the FEPC may now seem to be a stone that the builders rejected, it may yet become a headstone of an important corner.

JESSIE HIRSCHL

Prejudice and Property: An Historic Brief against Racial Covenants. Submitted to the Supreme Court by TOM C. CLARK and PHILIP B. PERLMAN. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948. Pp. 104. Cloth, \$2.00; paper, \$1.00.

The brief submitted by Attorney-General Clark and the Solicitor-General Philip Perlman in the successful attack on racial real estate covenants has now been made available for wider circulation. Among the groups supporting the Department of Justice in its successful attempt to withhold official sanction for racial covenants were the following organizations: American Civil Liberties Union, American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, American Association for the United Nations, National Bar Association, American Veterans' Committee, National Lawyers' Guild, American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, General Council of Congregational Christian Churches, American Indian Citizens' League of California, and Non-sectarian Anti-Nazi League To Champion Human Rights.

Resolving Social Conflicts: Selected Papers on Group Dynamics. By KURT LEWIN. Edited by GERTRUDE WEISS LEWIN. Foreword by GORDON W. ALLPORT. New York: Harper & Bros., 1948. Pp. 230. \$3.50.

This volume, the first of two contemplated, brings together thirteen of the papers published by the late Kurt Lewin during the fifteen years he lived in the United States. This first collection is of those dealing with practical issues: the problem of cultural differences and cultural reconstruction with special reference to Germany, the problem of conflicts in face-to-face groups as the family or the factory, and the problem of intergroup conflicts with special reference to the psychosociological problems of the Jews in America. The last group of papers seems to be addressed primarily to the Jewish people as a guide to their conduct in a situation of difficulty and stress. As an unintended result of this form the psychological actualities of the situation become more vividly apparent than in most discussions "about" Jews. Possibly wide circulation of the paper

"Bringing up the Jewish Child" would do more to reduce anti-Semitism than the most reasoned discussion of its scientific and antisocial nature.

Allport in his Foreword calls the paper on "The Background of Conflict in Marriage" a "particularly brilliant analysis." Those papers that need, currently, the widest reading are those that bear on the problem of democratic re-education in Germany. Change in education is a result of a change in values; atmosphere in education is an expression of the culture of the country. Lewin's thesis is that lectures and propaganda alone will not suffice to bring about the necessary changes. The basic change required, in his opinion, is one in power relations and in leadership.

HAZEL KYRK

Jewish Community Life in America. By BEN M. EDIDIN. New York: Hebrew Publishing Co., 1947. Pp. viii+282. \$2.50.

The Palestine Year Book, 5708: Review of Events from September 26, 1946, to September 15, 1947, Vol. III. Edited by SOPHIE A. UDIN. New York: Zionist Organization of America, 5708-1947-48. Pp. xiv+560. \$3.75.

These two works supplement each other in offering a valuable factual background to any consideration of Jews as a feature of the daily news or as a social problem. In focusing respectively on Palestine and American Jewry, the works deal with the two most important groups among the 11,000,000 Jews now remaining from the pre-war number of 16,725,000. The two works are also supplementary in the sense that, because of the emotional and other more concrete associations between American and Palestine Jews, neither group can be understood wholly when not considered in its relation to the other. With the emphasis in both works on information rather than interpretation, comprehensive economic, cultural, social, and psychological conditions are dealt with; included within this broad compass are separate descriptions of social service in the two groups.

Mr. Edidin's study readably describes a hypothetical, typical community, constructed from statistical and social research. His method of presentation corresponds in many respects to that of *Middle-town*; but he weaves into the study occasional didactic remarks to Jewish readers. The *Palestine Year Book* consists of an integrated collection of studies and articles by prominent Jews, including Moshe Shertok, new foreign minister of Israel. Interspersed among the signed articles are relevant tables, lists, and other documentation. In addition to its concern with Palestine proper, the *Year Book* surveys the Arab League, minority problems in the whole of the Middle East, the condition of Jewry throughout the world in relation to Zionism, and the political fortunes of Zionism in the year ending September 15,

1947. Obviously the point of view is Zionist, but the tone and method in discussions of controversial issues is generally historical rather than polemical.

Thus both works, although quickly readable and in some inevitable respects interpretively slanted to Jewish readers, are valuable as factual handbooks for anyone concerned professionally or personally with having an adequate basis for intelligently evaluating the Jewish community here or abroad.

HAROLD ZYSKIND

University of Chicago

Motivation in Health Education: The 1947 Health Education Conference of the New York Academy of Medicine. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. 54. \$1.00.

In his Foreword to this little volume Dr. Armstrong asks: "How can the educator make his instruction effective in the behavior of those whom he teaches?—Particularly as it relates to health education instruction is futile unless it affects and directs behavior along desirable channels." This is the central theme of the four short chapters: "The Problem of Motivation," by Dr. I. Galdston; "The Changing Patterns of Motivation," by W. W. Bauer; "Myths and Resistances in Health Education," by Dr. L. S. Kubie; and "Positive Motivation in Health Education," by Dr. Margaret Mead. Up to the present we have not done our best in health education, even in the field of understanding the factors of health on the basis of proven facts. But it is clear that understanding the proven factors of health, that is, reason, frequently plays second fiddle to myths, prejudices, social habits, fears, and other emotions. It is the old question of the cerebral cortex versus the ancient hypothalamus. The volume is worthwhile, not alone for teachers of health, but for all teachers and all parents, because understanding versus conduct is on the daily agenda of all sane citizens.

A. J. CARLSON

Frontier Parsonage: The Letters of Olaus Fredrik Duus, Norwegian Pastor in Wisconsin, 1855-1858. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1947. Pp. x+120. \$2.50.

This small volume which includes Pastor Duus's letters was discovered by Theodore C. Blegen in Norway and brought in typed copy to Minneapolis. There the women of the Verlandi Study Club devoted two years to their discussion, translation, and editing. Written solely for the home folks in Norway, the letters comprise almost altogether personal concerns and impressions. The many items related, of little significance perhaps singly, when massed take on depth and color. They concern the two dominant

interests of these "newcomers"—their home and their community, especially its Lutheran church—and make the period come alive.

The pastor's wife and children were his pride and joy. The children had as playmates only each other, domestic animals, and their parents. Only the parents were aware of isolation, intellectual and cultural. The young minister, who was practically a circuit rider with a parish of seven congregations widely scattered, was jubilant when five logs were hauled into place for the beginning of a church building. The letters can, of course, not be covered here in detail, but there are suggestions for students of immigration.

"Rafts of logs from the pineries"; "Indians with many colts" and selling moccasins; "Poor deer cannot escape hunters on skis"; "I went crashing and creaking along on a snow crust over soft snow 3 feet deep, shiny as a mirror and hard as glass" "Marvelous weather for sleighing"; "frozen ink," "frozen cheeks"; below zero temperatures recorded many times, yet "good and hot in summer"; "Except for lightning nothing is as beautiful as Norway." (Nostalgia.) The home country was the standard of measurement, and America suffered by contrast. Drinking water was very muddy, "yet healthful," mosquitoes, shoddy textiles, and readymade clothing, the shabby and ragged appearance of most Yankees, were all annoying. So was lack of accustomed amenities and furnishings. But frontier crudities and "the most shameful villainous actions," including very corrupt politics, disturbed him most. Unfortunately he saw few superior or even average Americans.

Pleas went to Norway for more letters, also for "good greased leather boots," kale seed, a Bible concordance in Norwegian or Danish, the past year's newspapers, recipes for doughcake and macaroni pudding, sleighbells, cloth—and daguerreotypes. "Can you teach us to make stiffening for the minister's ruffles"? Food, Pastor Duus wrote, was always abundant, and the letters tell of venison, prairie chicken, newly butchered beef and pork, "pancakes fried in lard," blueberries and apples. But "here men work much harder than in Norway." Has pioneering ever been easy?

Norwegians, Wisconsinians, ministers—and their wives—will all respond to these records and observations. So will "just folks" who enjoy rural life, pioneer history, with the human touch. And the social worker may find a case history in this self-contained but wholesome household of nearly a century ago.

HAZEL E. FOSTER

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Juvenile Delinquency: A Critical Annotated Bibliography. By P. S. DE Q. CABOT. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1946. Pp. 166. \$3.75.

Students of juvenile delinquency have tended to find the search for adequate reference material time-consuming and at times unproductive, depending upon the aspect of the problem that commands their interest and upon the extent of their own facility at digging up material. This volume, which contains 972 annotated references published between 1914 and 1944, will simplify the task.

The author has bravely attempted to distinguish between delinquency and crime, using "the tenuous distinction of age and legal classifications when deciding to include references which seemed to deal primarily with delinquency and not with crime." He found, of course, that the terms are often used interchangeably and that, even when the distinction is clearly made, a book or article may bear upon both subjects. Nevertheless, he has been guided by a definite plan: to include only references which have a direct value in research (presumably in the area of causation) and in the study of prevention and treatment.

References are listed alphabetically, under the name of the author. Each listing is accompanied by a one-paragraph abstract of the contents of the book, article, or report. A fourteen-page subject index enhances the value of Cabot's work, especially to the student who has a reasonably good idea of the specific subject on which references are desired. The references have been well selected. All are definitely germane to the problem of delinquency. There have been some omissions, explained by the author as the result of war conditions, which rendered certain reference material unavailable for annotation. With admirable humility he also mentions the possibility of errors and invites assistance in locating them.

The immensity of the Cabot undertaking will be understood and appreciated by anyone who has been confronted with the painstaking job of assembling a practical bibliography. Over a period of several years this reviewer built up a list of four hundred frequently quoted references for the use of graduate students in a class on juvenile delinquency. More than seven hundred of Cabot's references had not appeared on the reviewer's list, though many might have been included to advantage. Others who have compiled bibliographies on delinquency for class use will find a similar comparison interesting and perhaps revealing. Cabot's orderly, logically arranged volume will be of definite help to the instructor, the student, and the research worker.

RICHARD EDDY

What Parliament Is and Does: Being an Introduction to Parliamentary Government in the United Kingdom. By LORD HEMINGFORD, K.B.E., P.C. Cambridge, England: University Press, 1947. Pp. vi+117. 6s.

This little book attempts to give an elementary knowledge of the British parliamentary system and is intended as a general introduction for younger stu-

dents. It deals with the British constitution and such subjects as the duration of a parliament—its annual sessions and daily sittings. The reader is taken on a visit to the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and the duties of such officials as the speaker, the sergeant-at-arms, and clerks of the House of Commons are discussed. Then there is an account of the executive government, the ministers, the Cabinet, the Privy Council, and the Prime Minister. There is also a chapter on the way in which Parliament works, different types of legislation, order of business, and committees. Other subjects discussed include the system of national finance, points of parliamentary procedure, and the judiciary. This is a useful brief account of subjects about which American students are often confused.

National Insurance and Social Service for Everyman.

By EDMUND R. GIBBS. Oxford, England: Pen-in-Hand Publishing Co., 1948. Pp. 70. 3s. 6d.

This small book explains the provisions of the recent British acts and deals with the National Insurance Act of 1946 and the National Insurance (Industrial Injuries) Act of the same year, both of which came into operation on July 5, 1948. The National Health Service Act, which also became operative on the same date, is dealt with because it is "partly financed from the National Insurance Fund." While a sick man is receiving free hospital treatment under the Health Service Act, his wife and children and the man himself are drawing sickness benefit under the National Insurance Act. "All three Acts are related, and there is only one major difference, and that is that anyone may receive any of the benefits under the National Health Service Act, whether insured or not. To be entitled to any of the *cash* benefits provided under the National Insurance and Industrial Injuries Acts the claimant must, of course, be an insured person."

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Federal Prisons, 1947: A Review of the Work of the Federal Bureau of Prisons during the Year Ended June 30, 1947, Including Statistics of Federal Prisoners and of Federal Parole Selection. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, 1948. Pp. v+99.

This annual report by James V. Bennett, director of the Bureau of Prisons, maintains the high standard of the Bureau's recent reports. The format is attractive, and the text, which is concise and readable, gives one an impression of professional candor and honesty. This is not a glib recital of things accomplished or "successes" attained. On the contrary, it is a stimulating and convincing portrayal of some of the problems and perplexities faced during a period complicated by high personnel turnover. During the year, mainly because of the replacement of many war-service appointees, nearly one-third of all institutional employees were changed—a serious threat to the stability of the programs in the Bureau's twenty-eight institutions.

The annual statistics show no unexpected changes in the number of prisoners. Compared with the previous year, the average population of the federal institutions was down about 4 per cent (from 19,408 to 18,601), owing principally to the large number of Selective Service Act violators discharged; and the number of commitments of all sentenced federal prisoners was down a little more than 2 per cent (from 20,112 to 19,626), largely as a result of there being fewer commitments for war-related offenses. Eliminating war-related offenses, prisoners received under sentence from the courts increased slightly more than 5 per cent (from 15,307 to 16,151). Military prisoners committed were down about 7 per cent (from 2,216 to 2,064), but the average number of military prisoners confined during the year increased nearly 8 per cent (from 3,422 to 3,681).

The most significant departure from normal expectancy was the great increase in commitments for offenses under the National Motor Vehicle Theft Act (which prohibits transporting

stolen automobiles across state lines). These rose to an all-time high of 2,740, as compared with 1,997 commitments in 1946 and with 1,072 in 1945. The report points out that there had been no nation-wide increase in automobile thefts, and it is suggested that changing policies of federal and state law-enforcement agencies may be responsible for the increase. Over one-half of those committed under the act were from the fourth, fifth, and sixth judicial circuits—which are largely in the South—and the same phenomenon is observed with regard to juvenile offenders. About half of the 2,670 juvenile cases disposed of were in the same circuits, which is in startling contrast to the seven cases of juveniles disposed of by federal courts in the six New England states. As the report discreetly puts it: "These figures suggest that a relationship exists between the level of State and local child-care services and the extent to which the Federal Government's assumption of responsibility for the care of delinquent juveniles is welcomed" (p. 27). This problem of unnecessary diversion of juveniles to federal authorities demands thoughtful attention, and it is one which state departments of public welfare in the South should consider in connection with their program planning for child welfare services.

There are tables showing the comparative use of probation, as well as the average sentences for various offenses by judicial circuit and district. As usual, these tables depict the crazy-quilt pattern of inconsistent federal sentencing practices—a pattern that is especially noticeable in the varying use of probation. Although it is true that there are differences in the kinds of offenders brought before the different courts, as well as differences in community attitudes toward various offenses and offenders, the extreme ranges in the use of probation can be explained only by the very great contrasts among federal judges in their awareness of the values of probation when it is utilized effectively. In the Eastern and Middle Districts of Tennessee, probation was used in over one-third of the cases, but in the Western District of Tennessee, probation

was imposed in less than one-tenth of the cases. In the Northern District of Indiana, probation was granted in nearly half the cases, but it was used in only about one-sixth of the cases in the Southern District of Indiana. In the federal courts in Massachusetts nearly three-fourths of those convicted were placed on probation, but in Maryland the proportion was less than one-fourth.

Under the leadership of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, the use of probation in federal courts has increased steadily, and the current average disposition of about 40 per cent of all cases by probation is impressive. However, the variations from district to district are still too great, and it seems evident that the determination of sentence, which is really the determination of the treatment to be followed, is something that cannot safely be left to the individual judges. This question is especially significant when institutional treatment is concerned, because federal courts impose definite or flat sentences, at least one-third of which must be served before parole may be considered. The report aptly summarizes the paradoxical sentence situation:

... in carrying out our rehabilitation programs—religious, educational, industrial, medical, psychiatric, and through social case work—we have always been blocked to a greater or lesser extent by the rigidity of the court-set sentence. During a prisoner's sojourn with us the application to him of the institution's facilities and services are matters for our administrative discretion—all, that is, except the crucial question of how long these facilities and services are to be applied. Thus we are like physicians who furnish treatment but have little to say as to when the treatment should end. . . . We can recall many prisoners who we believe were released too soon, but even more who when ready for release had to stay a few extra years—at what was doubtless the cost of their rehabilitation [pp. 54-55].

The report advocates the passage of the long-needed federal corrections act, which was again introduced in the 80th Congress as H. R. 151 but which has not as yet been acted upon. Although it is not a panacea, the proposed act would provide more flexibility in sentences and would reduce what is called "the demoralizing disparities in the length of sentences imposed for similar offenses."

The Bureau of Prisons is making a serious attempt to operate a dynamic rehabilitative program. This is all the more remarkable because the field of corrections is an area in which the climate of public opinion usually reflects

simple distrust of that which is different, or downright hostility toward anything that is progressive. For this effort, Mr. Bennett and his staff deserve our sincere support.

FRANK T. FLYNN

University of Chicago

Report on the Boys' Court. Municipal Court of Chicago, 1948. Pp. 9.

The purpose of this brief but informative report is best stated by quoting the introductory paragraph:

At the request of Chief Justice Edward S. Sheffler, of the Municipal Court of Chicago, this report is made by the staff of the Boys' Court with the cooperation of Judge Joseph J. Drucker, who has been assigned to that Court the past two years. It is being submitted to the community with a view toward stimulating concern with the problems of the Boys' Court in the hope that civic interest will be aroused to the necessity of improving and expanding the resources and facilities for the treatment of these boys who have come into conflict with the law, but who can, through intelligent guidance, take their place in society as useful citizens.

The body of the report describes the creation of the Boys' Court in 1914, as a branch of the Municipal Court with limited jurisdiction over youths from sixteen to twenty-one; its philosophy of socialized justice, through which "the Court attempts to learn the cause of wrongdoing in every case and to give real consideration to offenders' needs and potentialities . . ."; special services available through the Social Service Department of the Municipal Court, the Psychiatric Institute, private agencies which work closely with the court and accept boys for supervision at its request, and the Public Defender; the procedure in handling cases; and major problems which have made it difficult for the court to function with maximum effectiveness.

The problems are familiar to all who have followed the efforts of the Boys' Court: high case loads with the inevitable lack of opportunity for intensive supervision; insufficient probation service; limitation of psychiatric help to diagnosis; absence of a proper range of institutional facilities for those who must be committed; and trouble in finding housing and vocational guidance for youth in serious need of these primary forms of assistance. Suggestions are offered by the court staff for the solution of

these problems. Their acceptance will depend upon public and private co-operation and upon the taxpayers' willingness to provide the necessary funds. Here, as everywhere, the court must compete with other public agencies and services in its plea for treatment resources capable of meeting a large and important need.

It is to be hoped that this readable and timely report will reach and elicit the support of all who believe that understanding treatment can help to redirect the lives of young offenders into socially useful channels.

RICHARD EDDY

Illinois Children's Hospital-School

Publicity for Local Government. MINISTRY OF HEALTH. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1947. Pp. 10. 3d.

This brief report is a result of the discussions of a consultative committee composed of representatives of the Ministry of Health and of the various national associations of local authorities (County Councils Association, Rural District Councils Association, etc.). Although the conclusions do not spring from a formal inquiry, they do reflect the experiences of large numbers of local authorities and are, in effect, a pooling of the convictions resulting from these experiences.

One of the major agreements of the committee is stated as follows: "Publicity ought, therefore, to be directed to the mass of population, through as many agencies as are available, and as persistently as possible. It should not be confined to selected and interested sections. . . ." This conclusion should have been amplified; as it stands, it may easily be misinterpreted. Everyone agrees that publicity programs should be designed to *reach* the mass of the population, but they should not be *directed* to the mass. Experience has clearly established that a mass, broadside approach is wasteful and unproductive. Publicity must be geared into existing attitudes and levels of understanding that are identified and appraised in advance. Since broadsides and the mass approach do not lend themselves to this kind of differentiation, the alternative is to break "the mass of the population" into identifiable groups and to adapt the publicity to the capacities and interests of these many groups. This is a more difficult and a more costly approach, but it will almost certainly produce better results.

A conclusion of the committee that could profitably be considered by many governmental agencies in this country is as follows: "First impressions can colour a citizen's whole outlook on local administration, and it is important that the officers entrusted with the task of interviewing members of the public should be of sufficient responsibility and training to inspire confidence." This is another way of saying that even the most skilful program of formal publicity cannot overcome the obstacle created by discourteous, inefficient, or thoughtless dealings with those who have business with the agency. There are still too many governmental organizations that do not appreciate this elementary fact.

WAYNE McMILLEN

University of Chicago

Children's Laws. Compiled by the DIVISION OF CHILD WELFARE, ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE. Springfield, Ill., 1947. Pp. 87.

This is a useful collection of the laws relating to children in the state of Illinois, which has been revised down to June 30, 1947. Unfortunately there is no table of contents, but a very complete and well-arranged Index compensates in part for the omission.

The Police and Minority Groups: A Manual Prepared for Use in the Chicago Park Police Training School. Prepared by JOSEPH D. LOHMAN and the Supervisory Officers of the Division of Police directed by ROGER F. SHANAHAN, Chief of Police. Chicago: Chicago Park District, Administration Building, Burnham Park, 1947. Pp. xiii+133.

This is a special report of the Chicago Park District, which is a separate municipal authority with its own maintenance and operating staff, including a force of 639 police officers recruited by its own Civil Service Board and "responsible for the enforcement of Park ordinances and State laws and for the preservation of peace and good order."

These park services are widely distributed in the city and should be available to all racial and nationality groups and all social classes. "The problem of administering park facilities on a basis of absolute equality places an unusual re-

sponsibility on the police. It is the police who eventually must treat with whatever civil disturbances or conflicts may arise."

The author of this special report is the associate director for race relations of the Julius Rosenwald Fund and a lecturer in sociology at the University of Chicago; he was assisted by the supervisory officers of the Division of Police. The Chicago Park District Police Training School included a training program in race relations, which Dr. Lohman describes as "one of the pioneer ventures in the in-service training of police officers."

The report deals with "Worldwide and Neighborhood Aspects of Human Relations; Background and Condition of Racial, Nationality, and Religious Tension; The Facts about Race; The Social Situations in which Tensions Arise; The Role of the Police Officer in Dealing with Tensions; The Law and Administrative Controls as They Affect Human Relations."

Situations are analyzed which may be responsible for misunderstandings affecting minority groups—sometimes leading to dangerous consequences. The duties of the police are important in such cases if serious results are to be prevented. A series of carefully prepared maps and a bibliography add to the value of the report. One appendix reprints the Illinois statutes or sections of statutes which relate to race relations, and a second appendix reprints the Fair Employment Practices Ordinance of the city of Chicago.

Requirements and Incomes of Recipients of Old-Age Assistance in 21 States in 1944. By RUTH WHITE and THOMAS G. HUTTON. (Public Assistance Report No. 13.) Washington, D.C.: Federal Security Agency, Social Security Administration, 1948. Pp. 44.

This useful report from the Statistics and Analysis Division of the federal Bureau of Public Assistance is an attempt to supply a basis for evaluating state differences in assistance payments. The report was prepared with the voluntary co-operation of twenty-one state public assistance agencies. These agencies undertook to obtain information on the amounts that recipients required to meet their needs, the amounts and sources of their incomes, and the amounts of their assistance. In December, 1945, a preliminary report was issued summarizing the results of the state studies.

However, in 1946, following the time of the study, Congress amended Title I of the Social Security Act to provide a larger federal contribution. The maximum of the individual monthly payment in which the federal government would participate was increased from \$40 to \$45, and the federal share of expenditures for assistance also was raised. Although payments are generally higher than in 1944, the authors of the report think that the variation in state average payments "has not been significantly narrowed." With additional federal funds, the federal Bureau and the state agencies placed emphasis on "the requirement, implicit in the Social Security Act, of equitable treatment of needy individuals in similar circumstances within a State." The report discusses the classification of cases and presents material on the requirements set by the different state laws and agencies:

"State agencies commonly designate specific basic items that people require for living, such as food, shelter, clothing, and household operating expense. Often the standards specify the circumstances under which additional items are to be included. Some recipients, for example, need money with which to obtain medical care. Other recipients may not require medical care or may be able to obtain it by means other than through the money payment.

"Differences exist not only in the content of the standards for a given item but also in the range of items recognized. Some of the variations reflect differences in the economic resources of the States and their ability to appropriate funds for assistance." These average monthly requirements per case for "recipient only" cases ranged from \$18.51 in Tennessee to \$61.11 in California.

In reporting on cash income other than assistance for twenty-one states, the report shows that in cases of the "recipient only" 21.5 per cent of the cases had some cash income other than OAA. This cash income came from average sources, such as earnings, contributions from relatives, servicemen's allowances, benefits under the program of OASI, and income from property.

With regard to earnings, the report shows that in spite of the handicap of age, 5 per cent of the recipients in the twenty states for which data are available had income from employment. Average monthly earnings for recipients with earnings were \$8.27. The average ranged from \$3.55 in Tennessee to \$13.64 in Massa-

chusetts and \$13.72 in the District of Columbia. "Income from earnings represented 17 per cent of all cash income other than assistance."

The next most important source of cash income other than assistance came from contributions from relatives. Here, there were significant differences among the states, due in part to the fact that there are specific provisions of state laws or agency policies regarding the responsibility of relatives. "A few States set up objective scales for amounts of contributions based on the relative's income, number of other dependents, and other financial responsibilities. In other States, agencies have policies to be followed on an individual-case basis in exploring this resource."

There are other interesting subjects discussed, such as income in kind, and shelter provided by relatives.

The report also presents tables dealing with total income, in which California holds the first place in the list of state averages with 92.5 per cent of "recipient only" cases receiving \$50 a month or more. "Because the California law provided a minimum below which total income may not fall and sufficient funds were made available to carry out the intent of the law each recipient had at least \$50. Recipients with more than \$50 income are those with income from earnings or other sources whose requirements, determined on a budgetary basis, exceeded \$50."

The great value of allowing the states to set different standards is shown here when it means that in some states very much more adequate income will be enjoyed.

This report will be useful to all workers in the OAA program as well as to the larger public interested in this program.

Annual Report of the Federal Security Agency for the Fiscal Year 1947. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948. Pp. xxv+632. \$1.75.

The Federal Security Agency has become an important executive agency for social workers, and in this annual report, the administrator, Hon. Oscar R. Ewing, contributes an important Foreword, in which he gives an account of the new and expanded activities of the Agency as a result of Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1946. This provided for the abolition of the former Social Security Board and the transfer of its

functions and responsibilities to the administrator of the Agency. The United States Children's Bureau, which had been in the Department of Labor for some thirty-five years, was also transferred to this Agency, except for its industrial division, which remained in the Labor Department. The administrator notes in his Foreword that "the inclusion of this Bureau's programs—research in problems of child life, maternal and child-health services, services for crippled children and child-welfare services—in the Agency has done much to simplify the coordination of these functions with the related health, welfare and educational activities of the other bureaus of the Agency."

The same reorganization plan moved the work of the Employees' Compensation Commission to the Agency, and another transfer was the moving of the Vital Statistics Division from the Bureau of the Census.

The passage of the National Mental Health Act is noted in the administrator's Foreword as of major importance. Attention is also called to the 1946 Amendments to the Social Security Act, which provide benefits to survivors of deceased World War II veterans, and reconversion benefits to wartime seamen. They also enabled the states to provide unemployment compensation to maritime workers, and authorized grants to the states for programs administered by the Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Public Assistance. The increased grants for vocational education are noted as of great assistance to states in expanding courses of interest to veterans.

On the whole the administrator notes this as a successful year of high employment and high income. He thinks that the very substantial increases provided by Congress for the various grant programs helped to offset cost-of-living increases to recipients of assistance benefits and assisted the states in improving child health and welfare, and increased the number of injured persons who, under the rehabilitation program, were restored to economic productivity.

The administrator's Foreword also gives an account of the establishment of the Office of Inter-Agency and International Relations, which assists in co-ordinating the relationships of the agency with other federal departments and agencies, international agencies and organized groups concerned with health, education, welfare, social insurance, and related programs. However, because of the increasing importance of international affairs and certain responsibilities of the Agency in this field, major

attention has been given to international relations. Activities of the Agency concerned with international relations are said to be of two major types: (1) participation in the formulation of international social policy, and (2) activities related to the exchange of students, experts, and information with other countries.

Different sections of the *Report* deal with the groups of bureaus in the nonstatutory division called Social Security Administration; another nonstatutory division which is called Educational Affairs includes the Office of Education, American Printing House for the Blind, Columbia Institution for the Deaf, and Howard University; a division of Health and Medical Care includes the U.S. Public Health Service and St. Elizabeths Hospital; and finally in the Office of Special Services are the Food and Drug Administration, Bureau of Employees' Compensation, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, and Employees' Compensation Appeals Board.

This *Report* becomes therefore an important social welfare document.

A Guide to Child-Labor Provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act (the Federal Wage and Hour Law). (Child-Labor Bulletin No. 101.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, 1948. Pp. 16.

This bulletin contains a reprint of the text of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 and a convenient series of questions and answers on the child labor provisions of this and other federal laws like the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act and the Sugar Act of 1948 that affect the employment of children. There are good statements about age certificates, about hazardous occupations, about motor-vehicle occupations, coal-mine occupations, logging and sawmilling, power-driven woodworking machine occupations, and operating elevators, cranes, derricks, hoists, or high-lift trucks.

Social Welfare Laws of Connecticut Revised through 1947. Hartford, Conn., 1948. Pp. 230.

Any compilation of the social welfare laws of a state is always useful. However, there are many questions of arrangement that make such a compilation convenient or less convenient. A good table of contents, for example, greatly increases the value of such a compilation. The director of Connecticut's Public Welfare Council, William W. T. Squire, is responsible for having the present compilation prepared, and he explains in the Preface that new laws of the last General Assembly justified a revision of the compilation in use. However, the necessity of keeping the volume within reasonable length meant the omission of the statutes concerning labor, education, and finance "notwithstanding the profound effect" such laws have on the welfare of the people of the state. Undoubtedly for the same reason there is no table of contents and only a very brief introductory statement. There is a good Index, but it would be helpful to have a statement regarding the changes made by the last assembly instead of relying on the dates of the various sections of the different statutes.

Work Injuries in the United States during 1946. (Bulletin 921, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947. Pp. 16. \$0.10.

This report again serves to remind us of the very serious consequences of the more than two million disabling injuries suffered by the workers in a single year. Actual time lost from work is estimated at more than forty-two million days. The fatalities resulting from work injuries numbered 16,500 in the year, and permanent total disabilities, which usually incapacitate workers entirely from future industrial employment, were 1,800.

An article based on the findings of this report has already appeared in the *Monthly Labor Review*.

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Pp. 230.

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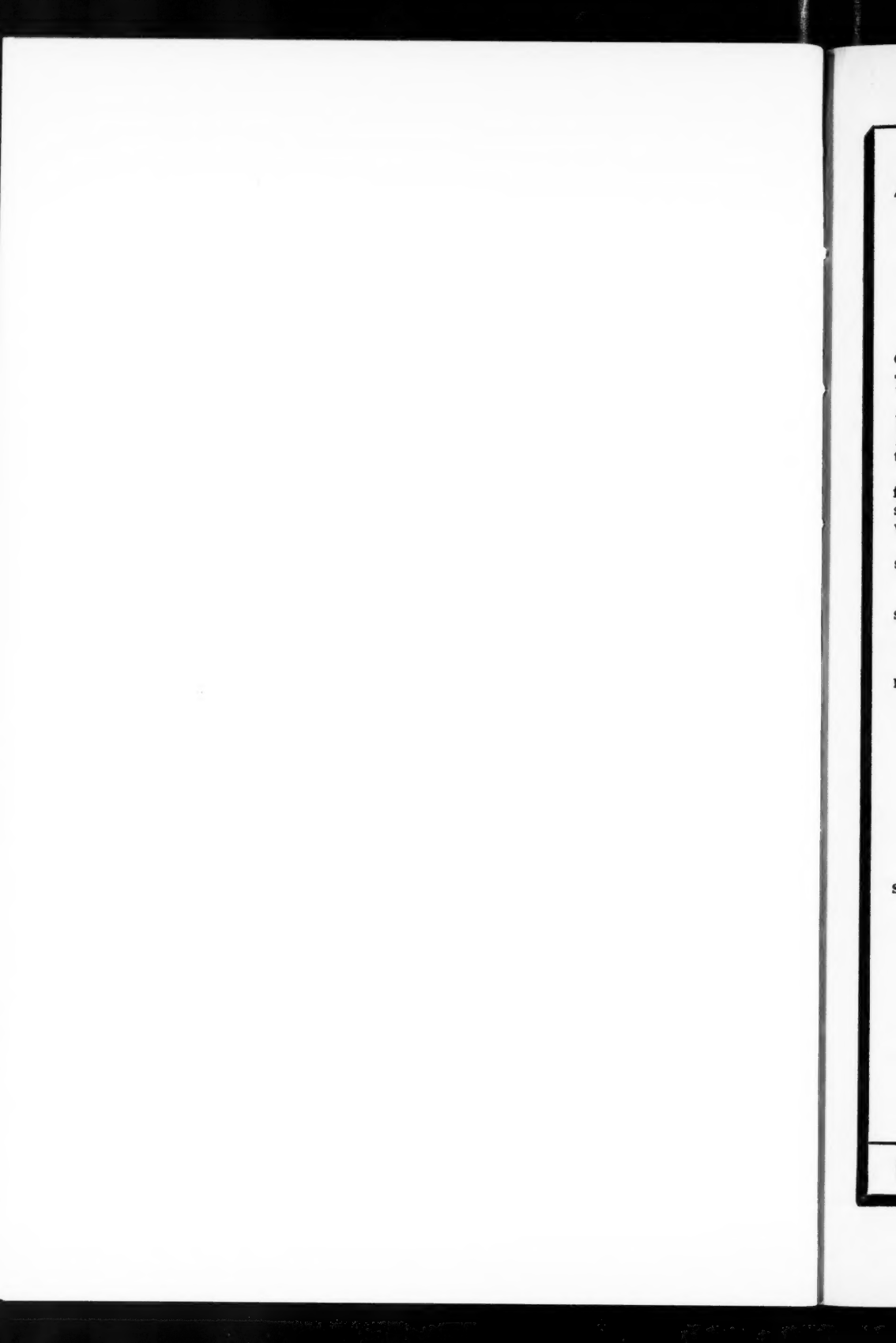
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